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Alleged false confessions among Icelandic offenders : an examination of some psychological, criminological and substance use factors that are associated with the reported false confessions.

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**ALLEGED FALSE CONFESSIONS AMONG ICELANDIC
OFFENDERS: AN EXAMINATION OF SOME
PSYCHOLOGICAL, CRIMINOLOGICAL AND SUBSTANCE USE
FACTORS THAT ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THE REPORTED
FALSE CONFESSIONS**

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**SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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**INSTITUTE OF PSYCHIATRY
KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON**

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Guðrún Jónsdóttir and Sigurður Aron Álfsson, who unfortunately died shortly before this thesis was completed.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the thesis was threefold. First, to revise the Gudjonsson Confession Questionnaire (GCQ-R) and assess its factor structure and reliability. Secondly, to investigate the nature and circumstances of claimed false confessions among convicted Icelandic offenders. Thirdly, to investigate psychological, educational, criminological, and substance use differences between participants claiming to have made a false confession to the police sometime in their life and other participants. The participants were 509 Icelandic prison inmates and 108 juvenile offenders, which represented 96% and 80% of those who were approached, respectively.

Factor analysis of the GCQ-R revealed conceptually meaningful factors with satisfactory reliability. A total of 62 prison inmates claimed to have made a false confession to the police, which represents 12% of the total prison population during a four-year period. In contrast, none of the juvenile offenders claimed to have made a false confession to the police. The participants completed a number of psychological tests, which included the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire, the Gough Socialisation Scale, the Gudjonsson Compliance Scale, the Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale, and the Ravens Standard Progressive Matrices. In addition, criminological data were collected for each participant .

The prison inmates gave two main reasons for making false confessions to the police: (1) about half of them because they gave in to police pressure and/or in order to avoid being detained in custody, and (2) the other half in order to protect somebody else from being arrested or prosecuted. Only about one third of the false confessors

claimed to have retracted the confession. The variables that discriminated significantly between the claimed false confessors and the other prison inmates were: (1) criminological variables (the extent of their police and prison experience), (2) personality variables (poor socialisation, high compliance and neuroticism), and (3) substance use variables (the extent of illicit drug use and intravenous experience). When the coerced-internalised type of false confession was separated from the other false confessors, suggestibility and confabulation differentiated between the two groups as predicted.

Overall, the findings suggest that claimed false confessions, among Icelandic prison inmates, are a part of their criminal lifestyle and antisocial personality characteristics. They appear to differ from the kinds of false confessions typically found in England among suspects who are unfamiliar with the criminal justice system. The findings highlight the risk of false confession during police interviewing among Icelandic prison inmates and further our understanding of the nature of their claimed false confession.

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It has not been easy to complete this thesis with a demanding full-time job. Without the tolerance and understanding of my wife *Ásrún Matthíasdóttir* and my children *Ari* and *Ásrún*, the thesis could not have been completed. For this I am immensely grateful.

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PREFACE

The research, which is described in this thesis, developed from a one year explanatory pilot study (Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson, 1994) into claimed false confessions among Icelandic prison inmates. The study was extended in order to double the sample of inmates, as well as add to the research a sample of a peripheral group of juvenile first offenders, who had been given a conditional discharge by the prosecution. The data were collected during the years from 1991 to 1995 while the author was working as a prison psychologist in Iceland.

The thesis consists of six chapters, beginning with an introduction into the field of false confessions, followed by a description of the development, the aims and the objectives of the thesis. In Chapter 2 the author gives a short introduction into the Icelandic Criminal Justice System (e.g. the courts, the prosecution, the law on confessions, detention and the prison system) in order to give the reader some understanding of the Icelandic Criminal Justice System. Chapter 3 describes the general methodology in detail, the participants, the instruments and the general procedure for the seven studies of the thesis, which are presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 4 gives the results of the first of the seven studies. It describes the revision of the Gudjonsson Confession Questionnaire (GCQ) for the purpose of the thesis, factor analysis of data on 411 prison inmates and the questionnaire's reliability. Chapter 5 is the most substantial part of the thesis. It describes the results of the six studies, beginning with the investigation of the frequency and the nature of the alleged false confessions, followed by studies into the

psychological characteristics of the alleged false confessors, their previous alcohol and illicit drug use, and their criminal history and previous prison experience. It describes the results of a discriminant analysis of the psychological, criminological and substance use variables, which identifies the variables that discriminate most significantly between the alleged false confessors and the other participants in the study. The final part of Chapter 5 describes a study into the reasons which the participants gave for having confessed to the police, falsely or not, using the revised version of the Gudjonsson Confession Questionnaire described in Chapter 3. In the final Chapter the main findings of the thesis are discussed, as well as its methodological limitations.

The findings which are presented in the thesis, as well as some related issues, have been disseminated and published in English, in eleven, peer-refereed scientific journals. A publication list is provided in Appendix I. A part of the findings has also appeared in two annual reports (1993 and 1996) of the Icelandic Prison and Probation Administration (PPA).

Two additional appendices are attached to the thesis. Appendix II gives all the instruments which were administered in the study, both the Icelandic and the English version. Appendix III provides detailed accounts of each of the reported claimed false confessions including tables of the results from the psychological tests, the false confessors' education, most frequent employment, and previous criminal history.

The alleged false confessors will be throughout the thesis referred to as false confessors, instead of *claimed false confessors*. Also, as the majority of the participants in the study were male, only the masculine personal pronoun (he/him/his) will be used where appropriate.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION.

This chapter will be presented in two main sections. The first section will be concerned with what we presently know about false confessions, including a review of theoretical models, the different types of false confession and relevant psychological vulnerabilities. The main hypotheses will be presented in this section, but specific hypotheses are provided in each section of the individual studies. The second section will describe the development of the current thesis and its main objectives.

1.2. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CONFESSIONS.

Interest in false confessions has grown considerably in recent years mainly because of the quashing of convictions of a number of individuals in England, who had served long prison sentences for serious crimes such as terrorist acts and murder (Gudjonsson, 1992a; Gudjonsson, 1992d; Lancet, 1994; Gudjonsson, 1997b; Gudjonsson and MacKeith, 1997). These include the 'Guildford Four', the 'Birmingham Six', the 'Tottenham Three', Judith Ward, and Stefan Kiszko, whose convictions were largely based on disputed confession evidence (Gudjonsson and MacKeith, 1997). This interest in false confessions has arisen both among the public and various professionals such as psychologists, psychiatrists, lawyers, and the police.

The scientific understanding of false confessions, including why and how they occur, has also increased considerably in recent years, both from experimental research into interrogative suggestibility and compliance and from detailed psychological and psychiatric assessments of individuals who have made false confessions to the police (Gudjonsson, 1992a; Gudjonsson and MacKeith, 1997).

An individual's confession to a crime is probably the most damaging evidence that can be admitted against him and is often the most probative one (Gudjonsson, 1992d; DiPietro, 1993). The confession can be a powerful weapon for the prosecution (Kassin and Kiechel, 1996), even within an inquisitorial system where there are stringent corroboration requirements (Gudjonsson, 1992a; Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson, 1994). Once an individual has made a confession to the police the likelihood of his being convicted if the case goes to court increases markedly (Gudjonsson, 1992a). Studies which have attempted to assess the importance of confession evidence in criminal prosecutions have revealed somewhat contradictory evidence according to Gudjonsson (1992a), but they suggest that confession evidence may be crucial or important in about 20% of criminal cases.

The consequences of admitting being involved in a crime can be very serious for the individual concerned, and even for his family and friends. The more serious the offence is, the more complicated and severe the consequences are likely to be for the individual. Jayne (1986) discusses two types of consequences, "real" and "personal", which are associated with confessing to an offence. The real consequences are more obvious than the personal and may involve loss of freedom, if the offence carries a prison sentence, financial penalty, or a loss of a job. The personal

consequences are not as obvious. They may involve lowered self-esteem, feelings of shame, uncertainty, fear and worries, even for a long period of time after making the confession. The suspect may worry about what will happen to him when the interrogation is over or what will happen whilst he is in custody. If the suspect expects to spend some time in prison he may worry about many things, both realistically and unrealistically, depending on his previous prison experience and his perceptions of what it is like to be in prison. Some suspects may fear imprisonment and other inmates and some may worry about what will happen to their relationship with family and friends.

Bearing in mind the serious consequences that follow a self-incriminating admission or a confession during a police interview (Gudjonsson, 1992a) it is interesting to note that the majority of suspects do confess (Pearse and Gudjonsson, 1996a). Empirical findings cited in Gudjonsson (1992a) suggest that confession rates in England range from 42 to 76 per cent and since the introduction of audio-taping of all police interrogations in England and Wales in 1992, the confession rate has remained relatively stable (Pearse, 1997), ranging from 55 per cent (Moston, Stephenson and Williamson, 1993) to 62 per cent (Baldwin, 1993).

Confessions may be very important as evidence in a criminal case, either in isolation or together with other evidence. During a police investigation other sources are sometimes available, such as witness statements and forensic evidence from the scene-of-crime. In criminal cases where there is no other evidence, confessions do sometimes form the only prosecution evidence, when the case goes to court. In England suspects can be convicted on the basis of the confession alone (Gudjonsson, 1992a), which is unlike that in Scotland and the United States of America, where

corroboration is required with regard to confession evidence (Pattenden, 1991). The situation regarding Iceland will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Sometimes people make self-incriminating admissions or even full confessions to the police to offences they have not committed or they exaggerate their involvement in an offence which they have committed. Why people do this is not always obvious, but the reasons are “...typically a combination of factors which are associated with the circumstances and nature of the custodial interrogation and the accused’s psychological vulnerabilities” (Gudjonsson, 1992a, p. 205).

The working definition of false confession used in the thesis is based on that suggested by Gudjonsson (1992d), who gives two criteria for what makes a confession to the police false. The confession is considered false if the individual who makes it: (1) has had nothing to do with the offence, or (2) he was substantially less involved than he admitted to the police.

1.3. FALSE CONFESSIONS.

1.3.1. RESEARCH INTO FALSE CONFESSIONS.

We do know that false confessions sometimes happen and the evidence comes mainly from three sources: (1) anecdotal case histories, (2) studies of attitude change, and (3) systematic studies of individuals who have made confessions, which were subsequently proved to be false. There is available documentation of a proven false confession in England, which dates back to the year 1660 (Ayling, 1984). In this case the defendant, John Perry, implicated himself, his brother and his mother, in the murder of William Harrison, during an extensive interrogation. The three of them

were executed on the basis of Perry's confession and some circumstantial evidence, but the alleged murder victim, William Harrison, reappeared alive after having been held in slavery in Turkey for two years. Gudjonsson and MacKeith (1997) and Gudjonsson (1992a) provide details of a number of cases of proven false confession, which they have studied systematically from psychological and psychiatric perspectives. In these cases there was evidence of the defendants' innocence, which showed that they did not commit the offence. This thesis seeks to add to this knowledge by investigating selected groups of offenders, that is, Icelandic prison inmates and juvenile offenders, to see how many claim to have made a false confession to the police sometime in their life.

False confessions which lead to wrongful convictions most often take place during police interrogation in custody (Lancet, 1994) and they occur within a social process which involves dynamic interpersonal interactions (Gudjonsson, 1992d). Such interactions occur between the confessor and some "significant others", which the confessor perceives as being persons in authority, such as police officers, customs officers, and others who may interview him.

In a political context, studies into coercive persuasion among communist interrogators, both in Russia during the Stalin period (Beck and Godin, 1951) and in China during the Korean war (Schein, Schneier, and Barker, 1961), have become important in relation to the psychological mechanisms involved when people make false confessions and so has work on sociopsychological theories of attitude change, for example, Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance and Asch's (1951, 1952) theory of group pressure (Gudjonsson, 1992c). The psychological techniques, which were used by the communist interrogators, for example, deprivation of emotional and social contact, threats and intimidation, appeared to be very successful in eliciting confessions from

innocent people. Gudjonsson (1992a) provides a valuable review of theories on attitude change in relation to coercive persuasion during interrogation and states that: "False confessions occur in a variety of settings, ranging from those obtained by "coercive persuasion" by the Russian and Chinese communists to the present-day interrogation techniques of western police" (p. 205).

During interrogation, by communist interrogators or the present-day western police, the interviewee is sometimes subjected to extensive social pressure, where the interrogator is exercising his authority. In fact as Gudjonsson (1992a) states: "Even with markedly improved legal provisions for detainees, it is difficult to think of any custodial interrogation that is not potentially "coercive"" (p. 25).

In attempting to understand why individuals confess to crimes they did not commit, an act typically against their self-interest, it is important to accept that there is no single or simple answer to that question, because individuals confess falsely for a variety of different reasons. Gudjonsson (1992a, 1992b, 1992d) argues that most false confessions are multifaceted in nature, that is, they result from a combination of factors rather than from a one single cause, and although there is growing evidence that criminal suspects do sometimes confess to crimes of which they are innocent, their true frequency is impossible to estimate and will never be known (Gudjonsson, 1992a; 1992b; 1993; Kassin and Kiechel, 1996). Gudjonsson (1993) gives a number of reasons why we will never be able to tell the exact number of false confessions in any given society.

Many suspects, guilty or innocent, retract the confession before their case comes to court, for example, because their solicitor advises them to do so or because they fear imprisonment, but in

most of these cases it is not possible to establish whether the confession is true or false. Indeed, in the majority of cases of false confession it is impossible to prove that the confession was false. The fact that it was disputed in court does not prove that it was false. According to studies in Britain (Baldwin and McConville, 1980) and the United States (Kalven and Zeisel, 1966) about 10% to 25% of defendants who confessed to the police pleaded 'not guilty' when their cases went to court. Some of these undoubtedly involved retracted confessions. Gudjonsson (1992b) and Gudjonsson and MacKeith (1988) draw our attention to the distinction between false and retracted confessions and Gudjonsson (1992b) states: "...that the majority - *but definitely not all* - of such cases do not involve genuine false confession" (p. 50). However, not all innocent suspects will retract the confession they made to the police. This is particularly likely to be the case where persons falsely confess to the police in order to protect somebody else (e.g. a friend, a spouse or a relative). The issue highlights the inherent problems with establishing the 'ground truth' in cases of disputed confessions. According to Gudjonsson (1992a), the 'ground truth' refers to "...factual matters that can either be incriminating or exonerate the suspect" (p. 221). This includes subsequent arrests or conviction of the real offender, DNA evidence, sound alibi evidence, and the discovery that no crime was committed in the first place (e.g. the alleged murder victim is discovered to be alive).

An important theoretical framework for understanding false confessions, and one that forms an important basis for the present thesis, was developed by Kassin and Wrightsman (1985). They suggest that there are three psychologically distinct types of false confession, "*voluntary*", "*coerced-compliant*" and "*coerced-internalised*", respectively. *Voluntary* false confessions occur without any obvious pressure from the police, that is, they involve persons who confess to crimes of which they are innocent and they do so without any external pressure from the police. Here the

person may go to the police station and volunteer a confession which may subsequently be shown to be false. According to Gudjonsson (1992a), the motive for making this type of false confession may involve:

1. A desire for notoriety, which functions to enhance low self-esteem.
2. The need to relieve feelings of guilt, which may be associated with depression.
3. Inability to distinguish fact from fantasy, which is associated with a breakdown in reality monitoring and psychotic illness.
4. The wish to protect somebody else from being arrested and prosecuted, that is, a significant other (e.g., a peer, a friend or a relative).

Coerced-compliant false confessions typically occur because the suspect is unable to cope with the interrogative pressure or custodial confinement. Here suspects make self-incriminating admissions or full confessions knowing that they are innocent of the alleged crime. The primary motive involved in this type of false confession consists of either (1) avoidance behaviour (e.g. wanting to escape from a stressful situation, such as a demanding police interview) or (2) hope of advantage (e.g. being released from custody). The anticipation of being released from custody after making a confession may in certain circumstances be a powerful motive to confess.

Coerced-internalised false confession occurs when suspects come to wrongly believe that they committed the crime of which they are accused. It involves the suspect coming to believe that he has committed the alleged crime, in spite of having no recollection of having committed it. There are two ways in which this can occur (Gudjonsson, 1992d). First, suspects may have a memory blackout or amnesia for their behaviours when the crime allegedly happened, sometimes because

they were heavily intoxicated at the time of the offence, which impaired their memory of the events. This makes them susceptible to accepting suggestions offered by police interviewers. Secondly, suspects enter the police interview with a reasonable recollection of their actions and events, but during interrogation they lose confidence in their memory and come to believe that they may have committed the crime of which they are accused. When this happens the suspects may make a false confession. In both circumstances suspects experience memory problems, lack of confidence in their recollections, and are susceptible to accepting the interviewer's suggestions. Gudjonsson and MacKeith (1982) describe this kind of false confession as resulting from a "memory distrust syndrome".

Gudjonsson (1992a) gives many case illustrations of the different types of false confession according to the Kassin and Wrightsman theoretical framework and emphasises the importance of false confessions which result from the wish to protect a "significant other" (e.g., a peer, a friend, a relative). He also argues that the Kassin and Wrightsman theoretical framework does not adequately describe this type of false confession. Such a confession may be typically "*voluntary*", but it may sometimes be related to the "*coerced-compliant*" type. That is, the person may be pressured by the real culprit to confess falsely to the offence, or alternatively, during police pressure they decide to "take the case" in order to protect the real culprit.

The Kassin and Wrightsman theory has been the subject of some criticism (Davison and Foreshaw, 1993; Ofshe and Leo, 1997). One criticism is that it fails to cover the complete range of police-induced confessions that are not coerced, (e.g. Davison and Foreshaw, 1993). Secondly, Ofshe and Leo (1997) argue that Kassin and Wrightsman have misconstrued the concept of internalisation in

relation to false confessions. According to the theory of Kassin and Wrightsman, internalised values and beliefs persist over time and across situations, whereas the evidence for internalisation among cases of false confession indicates that the changes in belief are temporary and unstable. This suggests that the internalised belief is never properly internalised and tends to disappear soon after the interrogative pressure is terminated. However, this is an issue that has not yet been properly resolved. More research is needed into the nature of internalisation among internalised false confessors before firm conclusions can be drawn.

In spite of the criticism, the Kassin and Wrightsman theory provides a useful framework for assessing cases of false confession both for clinical and research purposes. Gudjonsson and Clark (1986) and Gudjonsson (1992a, 1992b) provide an important way of relating Kassin and Wrightsman's theory specifically to psychological vulnerabilities. In particular, the concepts of suggestibility and compliance are theoretically relevant to the coerced types of false confessions discussed by Kassin and Wrightsman. Gudjonsson (1992a, 1992b) argues that suggestibility is most relevant to *coerced-internalised* false confessions, whereas compliance is more relevant to the *coerced-compliant* type. This forms one of the hypotheses in the present thesis.

1.3.2. WHY DO PEOPLE CONFESS?

Gudjonsson (1992a) reviews a number of models, which try to explain why suspects confess to the police. The following models can be applied to both true and false confessions:

1. *The “Reid model” of confession* was developed by John E. Reid and his associates in Chicago (Jayne, 1986) and is based on the nine “steps” of effective interrogation formulated by Inbau, Reid and Buckley (1986). This model, which views police interrogation as the psychological undoing of deception, looks at the processes which result in a confession during police interrogation. This happens when the suspect perceives the consequences of confessing as being more desirable, than prolonged interrogation and police pressure. The model is based on the assumption that “Criminal deception is primarily motivated by avoidance behaviour; that is, avoiding the likely or possible consequences of being truthful” (Gudjonsson, 1992a, p. 62). According to the tactics recommended by Inbau et al. (1986), the police persuade the suspect, using psychological manipulation, to change his views of what is the most desirable end to an interrogation. Such tactics include maximising or lying about the available evidence against the suspect in order to emphasise that there is no point in denying the offence, and minimising the offender’s blame for the offence, for example by claiming that it was an accident, due to alcohol or drug intoxication, or that the victim was in some way to blame for the offence. On occasions the psychological manipulation recommended can result in a false confession, when suspects are persuaded that they have committed a crime of which they have no memory (Ofshe, 1989).

2. *A decision-making model of confession* developed by Hilgendorf and Irving (1981), which suggests that the suspects’ decision making during an interrogation is determined by their perception of the available courses of action, the consequences of these, and the possible gains or losses of each of these perceived actions. The decisions are based on the suspect’s beliefs of the likely consequences, but not necessary on what is realistically likely to happen. This model explains why some innocent suspects confess during an interrogation, believing that their

solicitor will sort their cases out later, and also why innocent suspects confess believing that the interrogation will terminate and that they will be allowed to go home. The authors argue that during the interrogation the police can influence the decision-making of the suspect by: (a) manipulating his feelings of competence and self-esteem, (b) manipulating the perception of the likely or most desirable outcome of a given course of action, and (c) by impairing his coping ability through the use of social, psychological, and environmental manipulation. This model suggests that psychologically vulnerable suspects, particularly the mentally disordered, may be placed at risk of making a false confession when manipulated by the police.

3. *Psychoanalytic models of confessions* are based on the Freudian model of the conflicts between the Id, the Ego, and the Superego, and the assumption that suspects confess, because of an internal need to do so and that the main drive is the feeling of guilt (Reik, 1959). Gudjonsson (1992a) argues that the psychoanalytic models are “highly controversial” (p. 70) and that they “...seem to overlook the importance of individual and group differences in remorse following transgression” (p. 71). These models cannot account for the large group of suspects who do not confess (Pearse, Gudjonsson, Clare, and Rutter, 1998). Therefore, psychoanalytic models do not provide a full and proper understanding of why offenders confess to the crimes they have committed.

4. The fourth model is a *cognitive-behavioural model of confession* developed by Gudjonsson (1989b). This model suggests that we need to look at confessions as resulting from an interaction between the suspect, the environment and significant others within that environment. Gudjonsson argues that in order to understand that relationship one should

investigate, using behavioural analysis, both the perceived antecedents and the consequences, of the confessing behaviour. Both the antecedents and the consequences are construed in terms of *social, emotional, cognitive, situational, and physiological* events, that have been used to explain other types of behaviour, including delinquent behaviour (Stumphauzer, 1986). Of particular importance is the tendency of some suspects, when under stress and interrogative pressure, to focus primarily on the perceived immediate consequences of their making a confession (terminating the interrogation, being released from custody) rather than on the longer term consequences (prosecution, possible conviction, and imprisonment). This can make them susceptible to making a false confession.

In view of the importance of this model in the thesis it will be discussed in more detail than the other three. The cognitive-behavioural model represents a social learning theory approach to a confession made during police interviewing and explains confessing behaviour within the framework of behavioural analysis. Table 1.1, taken from Gudjonsson (1992a), shows typical antecedents to a confession and the immediate and long-term consequences that may follow.

Table 1.1. The antecedents and consequences of confessions (From Gudjonsson (1992a, p. 67) with permission).

Antecedents	Consequences	
	Immediate	Longer-term
<u>Social</u> Isolation Police pressure	<u>Social</u> Police approval, praise	<u>Social</u> Disapproval
<u>Emotional</u> Distress	<u>Emotional</u> Feelings of relief	<u>Emotional</u> Feelings of guilt, shame
<u>Cognitive</u> “The police know that I did it” “The truth will come out in the end” “Perhaps I did do it, but I can’t remember it”	<u>Cognitive</u> “It is good to get it off my chest” “My solicitor will sort it out” “How could I have done such a dreadful thing?”	<u>Cognitive</u> “What is going to happen to me now?” “This is very serious” “I’m now certain I had nothing to do with it”
<u>Situational</u> Nature of the arrest Confinement? Solicitor present? Caution understood? Familiarity with police procedures?	<u>Situational</u> Charged, allowed access to a solicitor	<u>Situational</u> Judicial proceedings
<u>Physiological</u> Aroused physical state, inhibitions reduced by alcohol or drugs; drug withdrawal	<u>Physiological</u> Arousal reduction	<u>Physiological</u> Arousal returns to base level

Antecedents are the events that occur prior to or during the interrogation. These are factors that may trigger or facilitate the making of a confession. The consequences are of two types, which are referred to in Table 1.1 as ‘immediate’ and ‘longer-term’ consequences. The immediate or short-term consequences are those which occur within a short period of time (i.e. within minutes or hours of the suspects confessing to the alleged crime), but the

longer-term consequences are those which take place after a relatively longer period of time (i.e. within days, weeks, or years of the suspects confessing). The type of consequences in each case, whether immediate or delayed, depends on the nature and the circumstances of the case and the psychological characteristics of the individual concerned.

In Table 1.1 Gudjonsson gives two main types of *social* event that may be important in triggering a confession. The first type of event refers to being isolated from family and friends and the second refers to the interrogation itself. The former refers to the power of the police to isolate the suspect from any external influence that may reduce his willingness to confess. The latter refers to the nature of the interrogation itself. In fact the Reid model (Jayne, 1986), which illustrates the importance of these social processes when obtaining confession from suspects, may easily be incorporated into the cognitive-behavioural model.

The immediate consequence of confessing is the expected approval or the social reinforcement given by the police. The police may praise the suspect for owning up to what he has done and in some cases the suspect is allowed to go home. The longer-term consequences on the other hand may include the disapproval of family, friends and the general public.

For most people being arrested by the police and interviewed at a police station is a stressful experience. The stress may relate to the uncertainty of the situation, the fear of what the suspect thinks is going to happen at the police station, the fear of the detention itself, and the fear of the legal consequences regarding the alleged offence if convicted.

The expected immediate consequences of confessing may be the emotional relief as the pressure of the interrogation is lifted and the suspect is more certain about his immediate future (Irving, 1980), but the longer-term consequences may be associated with feelings of shame or regret of having confessed to the police.

The *cognitive* factors include the suspect's thoughts and beliefs, his assumptions and interpretations of what he experiences during the interrogation, and his perceived strategies of responding during the interrogation. According to the cognitive-behavioural model these kinds of factor can very markedly influence behaviour and Gudjonsson (1992a) emphasises that "...the suspect's behaviour during the interrogation is likely to be more influenced by his perceptions, interpretations and assumptions about what is happening than by the actual behaviour of the police"(p. 69). Table 1.1 gives examples of self-statements that suspects may make during interrogation.

The immediate cognitive consequences may relate to the suspect's thoughts or expectations about what happens when the pressure of the interrogation is over. For innocent suspects the thought (or hope) that their solicitor is going to sort everything out when the interrogation is over may predominate. For suspects who wrongly come to believe during the interrogation that they have committed the offence of which they are accused, they may come to wonder how they could have committed the offence despite having no recollection of it. The longer-term cognitive consequences may be associated with thoughts about what is going to happen as the result of having confessed to the police. When suspects start

thinking about the seriousness of having confessed this may make them inclined to retract their previously made confession. The decision-making model of confession (Hilgendorf and Irving (1981) may be incorporated into the cognitive-behavioural model in this respect as it emphasises the importance of the suspects perceptions of what is happening during the interrogation.

The *situational* events of having been arrested and interviewed by the police are of many different kinds. The circumstance of the arrest (e.g. being arrested in the early hours of the morning) may affect the suspects' ability to cope with the subsequent interrogation, and being locked up in a police cell for several hours or days may easily weaken the suspects' resistance during the interrogation. However, familiarity with police procedures and interrogation could provide suspects with knowledge and experience which make them more able to understand and assert their rights.

The most influential immediate situational consequence resulting from a confession are undoubtedly being allowed to go home, but the longer-term consequences relate to possible prosecution and judicial proceedings.

The most obvious physiological antecedent to a confession is heightened autonomic arousal, which occurs because suspects may be apprehensive, worried, and frightened when they are arrested and brought to the police station. This includes increased heart rate, blood pressure, rate and irregularity of respiration, and perspiration. Physiological arousal may

return to its normal level, when the suspect feels more certain about his immediate future, although it should be noted that uncertainties about the pending court case and outcome may lead to an increased subjective and physiological state of arousal.

A review of the literature by Gudjonsson and Petursson (1991) suggests that offenders confess to crimes they have committed for a number of reasons, which may be divided into three main groups. The first group relates to the regrets of having committed the offence and the relief of guilt experienced by confessing to the police. This is in agreement with the psychoanalytic theories described above, which assume that the feeling of guilt is the main reason for making a confession. That is, some people have an 'internal need' to confess due to feelings of guilt and this may be important in their subsequently wanting to confess.

The second group relates to the suspects' perception of police persuasion, pressure and distress over detention. Some offenders are reluctant to confess, but may do so because of police manipulation during the interrogation. An important factor is the suspect's wish to terminate the interview and be released from custody. This type of confession results from 'external pressure' due to the suspect not being able to cope with the police pressure or the pressure of being detained at the police station.

The third group relates to the suspects' perception of police evidence. For example, a suspect who believes that the police can prove that he committed the offence, because of forensic or witness evidence, may see no point in denying the offence. In fact, when the evidence against the suspect is overwhelming it may be in the suspect's interest to co-operate fully with the police. The

interrogation techniques recommended by the Reid model rely heavily on changing the suspect's perception of the police evidence, which may result in a false confession when suspects are persuaded that they have committed the offence in spite of their having no memory of it (Ofshe and Leo, 1997). This relates to the suspect's perception of the 'strength of evidence' that the police have against him.

Empirical evidence of why people confess during police interrogation comes from the work of Gudjonsson and his colleagues (Gudjonsson and Peterson, 1991; Gudjonsson and Bownes, 1992; Sigurdsson and Gudjonsson, 1994; Pearse et al., 1998) and forms the background of this thesis. In the four studies all three factors, that is, 'internal pressure', 'external pressure' and 'perception of proof', were considered relevant to each individual case, although one factor tends to be predominant. The single most important reason which the suspects typically report for having confessed are their perception of the strength of the evidence against them. However, both 'external' and 'internal pressure' also seemed relevant in most cases, in varying degrees.

In summary, the cognitive-behavioural model explains the kind of pressures suspects are under during interrogation and the process whereby they may confess. The model can also be applied to situations where suspects make false confessions, because similar processes occur as with true confessions. For example, social isolation, confinement, and police pressure, as illustrated by the model, can result in a false confession among psychologically vulnerable suspects. Their inability to handle the pressure, a desire to be released from police custody, the false belief that they have committed a crime, a sense of relief after confessing, and the failure to consider the long-term consequences of making a false confession, can predispose them to making a

false confession. In cases of severe alcohol or drug withdrawal, suspects may be totally preoccupied with getting out of the police station and fail to consider or care about the long-term consequences of making a false confession. As far as voluntary false confessions are concerned, there may be a social pressure to 'take on' a case in order to get a peer or a friend out of trouble.

1.3.3. RELEVANT PSYCHOLOGICAL VULNERABILITIES.

The early work of Brandon and Davies (1973), which was based on studying the case histories of defendants who had been wrongfully convicted mainly on the basis of their confession, is very important in relation to psychological vulnerabilities. Brandon and Davies identified three types of vulnerability in this group as follows: (a) cognitive deficits (e.g. low intelligence and illiteracy); (b) low chronological age; and (c) mental disturbance (e.g. depression).

During the nearly 25 years since the publication of the Brandon and Davies study, it has been recognised that some individuals are more likely than others to provide the police with information, which is invalid (the term "unreliable" is used legally) or misleading due to "psychological vulnerabilities". This includes suspects making self-incriminating admissions and confessions, which are sometimes found to be false. Gudjonsson (1994) argues that psychological vulnerability falls into three groups:

1. Mental disorder, which is comprised of recognised psychiatric conditions (e.g. learning disability, mental illness and personality disorder).

2. Abnormal mental state, which can be caused by severe anxiety, phobias, bereavement, alcohol and drug intoxication or withdrawal, and various medical conditions which can influence mental state (e.g. cardiovascular problems, diabetes).
3. Personality characteristics, such as suggestibility, compliance, and anxiety proneness. Impaired intellectual functioning, not amounting to learning disability, would fall under this group, as well as memory problems and tendency towards confabulation.

The above characteristics may make some people less able to cope with the demanding circumstances of the interrogation and therefore more prone in certain circumstances to make a false confession to the police. Of particular importance in the present thesis are the concepts of suggestibility, compliance, anxiety proneness, and confabulation. It is hypothesised in this thesis that those who claim to have made a false confession during a police interrogation will exhibit elevated scores on these characteristics. Confabulation is the most recent concept applied to confession evidence (Gudjonsson and MacKeith, 1997) and is defined as “...problems in memory processing where people replace gaps in their memory with imaginary recollections which they believe to be true” (Gudjonsson, 1997a, p. 5). The concept of *interrogative suggestibility* has been defined as “...the extent to which, within a closed social interaction, people come to accept messages communicated during formal questioning, as the result of which their subsequent behavioural response is affected” (p. 84) (Gudjonsson and Clark, 1986) and compliance refers to an individual’s tendency to comply uncritically with the requests of others.

Gudjonsson (1992a) has developed a number of instruments for measuring these psychological factors, which are relevant to assessing an individual’s susceptibility to erroneous and misleading

testimony. The *Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scales* (Gudjonsson, 1984, 1987, 1997a) represent psychometric instruments that measure proneness to interrogative suggestibility and confabulation and the *Gudjonsson Compliance Scale* (Gudjonsson, 1989a) measures the individual's tendency to behave in a compliant way. These instruments, are employed in the thesis and are described in detail in Chapter 3, continue to be empirically tested and validated (Davison and Gossop, 1996; Gudjonsson, 1995; Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson, 1995, 1996; Clare et al., 1994; Clare and Gudjonsson, 1993; Gudjonsson, 1992a).

Corre (1995), a solicitor and a stipendiary magistrate, has argued that much of the change in attitude among the judiciary is due to important psychological work in this area during the past decade by Gudjonsson and his colleagues. This psychological work has thrown light on the types of factor that can make some individuals vulnerable to making false self-incriminating statements during police interrogations. According to Gudjonsson (1997b): "Major changes have taken place in recent years in the way confession evidence is dealt with by the courts. The admissibility of a defendant's confession into evidence is increasingly being disputed on the basis of oppression, unreliability and fairness. Of particular importance in many of these cases are psychological vulnerabilities, such as learning disability, suggestibility, compliance, acquiescence, and the inability of some suspects to cope with interrogation and custodial confinement" (p. 447).

Alcohol and drug intoxication, as well as withdrawal symptoms during police interrogation, may be important vulnerabilities underlying a false confession (Gudjonsson, 1992a; Davison and Forshaw, 1993; Davison and Gossop, 1996). Pearse et al. (1998) found that self-report of consumption of an illicit drug during the previous 24 hours suggested that a suspect was three times more

likely to make a confession, compared with Sigurdsson and Gudjonsson (1994), who showed that being confused due to substance intoxication during the interrogation and experiencing the effects of withdrawal symptoms can influence suspects ability to cope with the pressure of the police interview and custodial confinement, although the association of these factors with false confession is less clear. Davison and Gossop (1996) studied the suggestibility and compliance of drug addicts, using the Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scales and the Gudjonsson Compliance Scale. The results indicate that a subgroup of vulnerable individuals become more suggestible when questioned under the influence of opiates and when withdrawing from drugs. Similar results were found by Murakami, Edelmann and Davis (1996) who investigated interrogative suggestibility in opiate users. They found that the group which was still undergoing a methadone detoxification programme was experiencing more physical and psychological problems than those who had finished taking the drugs and were no longer experiencing withdrawal symptoms and the former group scored higher on total suggestibility on the Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale (GSS 1).

Gudjonsson and MacKeith (1990, 1994), in their research into proven cases of false confession, found that lack of familiarity with police procedure and interrogation were relevant to their making of a false confession. One interpretation of these findings is that an experience of imprisonment makes suspects more reluctant to make a confession, presumably because they wish to avoid going to prison again. As far as false confessions and criminal lifestyle are concerned, Gudjonsson (1992a) found that some false confessors had a long criminal history and were familiar with police interrogation. Their false confession did not seem to arise from lack of familiarity with police interrogations. In contrast, their criminal lifestyle and personality disorder may have made them more susceptible to make a false confession. The main

hypothesis formulated by Gudjonsson is that persons with antisocial personality problems are less concerned about the consequences of their behaviour, including that of making a false confession. It was expected that this hypothesis would apply better to the prison inmates than the juveniles in the present thesis, since the latter are by definition mostly first offenders.

There are at least two ways of viewing the criminal background of those suspects who make a false confession (Gudjonsson, 1992a). One theory is that false confessors are inexperienced with police procedures and police interrogation, which makes them susceptible to coercive and manipulative police interrogation techniques (Gudjonsson, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c; Gudjonsson and Singh, 1984; Sharrock and Gudjonsson, 1993). The alternative theoretical perspective is that false confessions form a part of the criminal lifestyle of offenders and do not result from inexperience with criminal procedures and police interrogation (Gudjonsson, 1992a). Both theories may be necessary to explain the causes of false confessions overall, because false confessions are typically multifactorial in nature (Gudjonsson, 1992b).

Gudjonsson and Singh (1984) argue that there are at least two theoretical grounds for believing that offenders with previous convictions are less susceptible to interrogative pressure than those with no previous convictions. First, offenders who are experienced with police interrogations learn to cope with interrogative pressure which makes them less susceptible to making a false confession. Secondly, criminal recidivists may be more inherently able to resist interrogative pressure than less experienced criminals. Gudjonsson and Singh (1984) found a negative correlation between the number of previous convictions and interrogative suggestibility as measured by the Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale (Gudjonsson, 1984).

Similarly, Sharrock and Gudjonsson (1993) found that previous convictions had a negative correlation with interrogative suggestibility independent of intelligence.

1.4. THE THESIS.

1.4.1. THE PURPOSE OF THE THESIS.

The purpose of this thesis is to further the scientific understanding of the reasons why suspects confess falsely to the police, by investigating the frequency of false confessions, the reasons given for having made them, and the associations with a number of psychological and criminological variables. When the thesis was originally planned its purpose was to investigate, in detail, various psychological aspects of confessions, including false confessions, obtained during police interrogation. It was not possible to know at that stage how far the study could be developed with regard to false confessions, because it was not clear how many offenders would claim that they had made a false confession in the past.

The most recent work in England (Richardson, 1991) revealed that 23 per cent of young offenders (<18 years) claimed to have made a false confession sometime in their life (N=60) although they had nothing obvious to gain from doing so. Their main reason was to protect an older peer. However, after a pilot study (N=229) had been conducted in Iceland (Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson, 1994) it was evident that a substantial proportion (12%) of Icelandic prison inmates reported having made a false confession to the police sometime in their life and the two main reasons they gave were to protect somebody significant to them and as a way of avoiding police pressure and custody. It was therefore decided to investigate how this group of inmates differs from other

prisoners in terms of their personality (e.g., being more suggestible, compliant, anxiety prone, more disordered in their personality, having poorer memory and lower IQ) as well as other criminological variables. For the purpose of this thesis the sample was extended to 481 prison inmates which provided a sufficiently large group to study in detail the types of factors that differentiate the alleged false confessors from the remaining prisoners.

In this project an attempt will be made to study false confessions and the individuals who claim to have made them mainly from a theoretical perspective, using the theories and models outlined. The hypotheses postulated in this thesis, and presented in each of the relevant chapters, are based on the models which explain confessing behaviour. The most important models are Gudjonsson's (1989b) cognitive-behavioural model of confessions, the Gudjonsson and Clark (1986) model of interrogative suggestibility, and the Kassin and Wrightsman's (1985) model of the three psychologically types of false confession.

Gudjonsson's (1989b) model directed the way each participant was interviewed with regard to the claimed false confession. That is, the different components of antecedents (social, emotional, situational, and physiological) were enquired about, as well as the immediate and long-term consequences. The main hypothesis was that confessions, both true and false, occur by suspects focusing predominately on the immediate consequences of their behaviour. A related hypothesis is that both high anxiety and compliance impair decision making during confinement and interrogation, which on occasions may result in a false confession. This occurs when suspects are desperate to escape from a stressful situation, such as a stressful police interview and confinement. The *coerced-compliant* type of false confession is most relevant here. Gudjonsson's model also

explains how suspects may come temporarily to believe that they have committed a crime of which they are innocent. This may be caused by a “memory distrust syndrome”, which may arise when suspects are interviewed about an offence which took place when they were heavily intoxicated and had little or no memory of their actions at the time. It is hypothesised that suspects who make a *coerced-internalised* false confession are more likely to have been under the influence of alcohol, and possibly also illicit drugs, at the time the offence took place, which impaired their memory and made them more susceptible to accepting a police officer’s suggestions during interrogation.

Another hypothesis is based on the Gudjonsson and Clark (1986) model of interrogative suggestibility, which predicts that high suggestibility is most relevant in interrogations where subtle psychological manipulation takes place, as a result of which suspects come to uncritically accept the police officers’ scenario of events. In contrast high compliance would be directly relevant to both *coerced-internalised* and *coerced-compliant* types of false confessions discussed by Kassin and Wrightsman.

1.4.2. OBJECTIVES OF THE THESIS.

The main objective of this thesis was to investigate in detail the various psychological aspects of claimed false confessions. It started by investigating:

- (1) The frequency with which prisoners and juvenile offenders claim to have made a false confession to the police;
- (2) The reasons for having made such a confession;
- (3) The circumstances under which the confession was made; and

- (4) The psychological, criminological and demographic characteristics of suspects who claim to have made a false confession.

The objectives changed over the research period for two main reasons. First, the number of claimed false confessions reported by the prisoners was much greater than expected. Therefore, the objectives changed from investigating confessions during interrogations to investigating claimed false confessions. Secondly, the participants' co-operation was much better than expected, which meant that additional tests could be incorporated into the battery of tests used.

Additionally, the research involved two further objectives:

1. To revise the Gudjonsson Confession Questionnaire (GCQ) in order to make it applicable to the present study, and to increase its reliability. Items were added, including questions relating to feelings of shame, the perception of proof, and substance intoxication during the police interviews and at the time of the offence. This work was published in *Addiction* (Sigurdsson and Gudjonsson, 1994). The questionnaire was factor analysed and its internal reliability and test re-test reliability were assessed, when it had been administered to 359 prisoners in the first part of this thesis which will be described in Chapter 2.
2. To investigate in detail differences between true and false confessors on a number of psychological and offender variables. This involved asking all participants to complete a number of psychological tests, including the revised Gudjonsson Confession Questionnaire (revised on the basis of stage 1 above), the Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale (Gudjonsson, 1984), the Gudjonsson Compliance Scale (Gudjonsson, 1989a), the

Gough Socialisation Scale (Gough, 1960), the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1975), and Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices (Raven, 1960). In addition, the inmates were asked about their history of alcohol and drug taking, using a specially designed questionnaire (see Chapter 3).

1.4.3. THE PROCEDURE.

The study and the data collection took place in Iceland, where the author works as a prison psychologist at the Prison and Probation Administration. The advantage of carrying out this thesis in Iceland was that all defendants sentenced to prison in Iceland could be invited to participate and to be psychologically assessed. On average 240 persons were admitted to prisons in Iceland per year between 1991 to 1995 (see Table 2.5, page 44) and each one was asked to co-operate with the study shortly after admission.

The thesis was approved by the Icelandic Ethical and Data Protection Committees and the prison authorities gave full permission for the thesis.

Participants in the thesis were two groups of offenders: (1) Prisoners admitted to the Icelandic prisons (N=481); and (2) young offenders who had been given a conditional discharge by the prosecution, primarily for minor property offences (N=108). The reason for including the juvenile offenders was to investigate how this group, which largely comprises young people who do not have previous convictions, differs from older, habitual, and more serious offenders. The advantage of this was to avoid the danger of generalising from one group of offenders (i.e., those who have

been sentenced to imprisonment). The juvenile offenders would be likely to resemble more closely youngsters in the general population, the great majority of whom do not become habitual offenders. Ideally, a group of more serious young offenders should also have been studied, but these were not available for the purpose of the present research.

Each participant who reported having ever made a false confession, was asked to complete the revised Gudjonsson Confession Questionnaire twice, once for the offence involving the false confession and once for another offence which they claimed they had committed and confessed to truthfully, which in most instances was their current offence. Each participant who claimed to have made a false confession sometime in the past was interviewed in detail about his false confession, in order to establish their reason for having made it, whether or not the false confession was ever retracted, and the psychological type of false confession (e.g., *voluntary*, *coerced-internalised*, *coerced-compliant*). It was decided to assess a minimum of 50 false confessors and compare them with a minimum of 100 other similar offenders who claimed never to have made a false confession on various psychological tests (see above) and offender variables (e.g., previous convictions). For each participant, a record of previous convictions, in addition to court papers and prison records, was available for analysis.

Research into why suspects confess to the police during interrogation, which includes both true and false confession is just beginning (Gudjonsson, 1992a). The present study is unique in that almost all (96%) prison inmates for the entire population of Iceland participated in the study. The sample studied represents the largest study ever conducted into claimed false confessions. The results will further the scientific understanding of the reasons why suspects confess to the police, the types of

factor that are associated with the reasons suspects confess, and most importantly, it will provide unique data into claimed false confessions.

2. THE ICELANDIC CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

2.1 THE COURTS AND THE SENTENCING PROCESS.

The legal system in Iceland is inquisitorial in nature, as in most other European countries. Iceland has been a republic since 1944, when it became independent of Denmark. Prior to that, or from about 1800, the Court System in Iceland could be divided into three divisions, District Courts (Héraðsdómur), the Country's High Court (Landsyfirrættur) and the High Court of Denmark. Iceland has a strong relationship with the Nordic countries and Icelandic legislation has largely been influenced by Scandinavian law and particularly that of Denmark (Gudjonsson, 1975). The main Criminal Law was formulated in 1940 (Almenn Hegningarlög (Criminal Law), 1995), although there have been a large number of revisions. The major and the most recent legislation concerning Criminal Law was published in 1989 (Law No. 92/1989), when new laws concerning the separation of the jurisdiction from the legislative power were made.

Today the court (judicial) system in Iceland may be divided into two groups, District Courts and the High Court (Supreme Court, Court of Appeal). The District Courts are independent courts that can be found in the eight districts of Iceland (Regulation No. 58/1992). Before that, both the police and the courts in each district were governed by the sheriff (judge and revenue officer of the district). Table 2.1 describes the number of criminal cases concluded in all the eight District Courts during the years from 1991 to 1995 (i.e. the period of the thesis).

Table 2.1. The total number of criminal cases concluded in the District Courts in 1991 to 1995 (Landshagir, 1996).

Criminal cases	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Total number of criminal cases	*	*	1704	2054	2401

*Statistics for 1991 and 1992 were not available.

The High Court (Supreme Court), which was founded in 1919 by the National Law of 1918, in which Iceland was given sovereignty from Denmark, is the highest court in Iceland. The Court acts mostly as a Court of Appeal in cases sentenced by the District Courts. The High Court consists of eight judges of which three to five (seven in very serious or important cases) are assigned to each case. Table 2.2 describes the total number of criminal cases appealed to the High Court during the years from 1991 to 1995. A comparison of the figures in Tables 2.1 and 2.2 reveals that 5% to 10% of all cases sentenced by the District Courts each year are appealed to the High Court.

Table 2.2. Criminal cases appealed to the High Court in 1991 to 1995 (Landshagir, 1996).

Criminal Cases in the High Court	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
Total number of criminal cases appealed	123	118	167	133	115

The sentencing process in Iceland may be divided into three main levels, the District Police, the District Courts and the High Court. As Table 2.3 illustrates, there is a range of disposal for dealing with offenders at each level.

Table 2.3. The four levels of Sentencing Procedures in Iceland*.

Sentence:	Level:
Fine	The Police The Courts
Conditional Discharge	The Public Prosecutor
Suspended Sentence	The Courts
Hospital Order	The Courts
Prison Sentence	The Courts
People sentenced to prison may apply for†: Community Service	Community Service Committee
Serving prisoners may apply for†: Half-way house Substance abuse treatment.	The Prison and Probation Administration The Prison and Probation Administration

*Changes were made in 1997, both regarding the prosecution and sentencing, but these are not relevant to the present thesis.

†Provided certain conditions are fulfilled.

The Public Prosecutor has the main responsibility for criminal investigations and prosecutions. Cases are investigated by either the District Police or the State Criminal Investigation Police. When the investigation is finished, the case is either sent to the prosecutor’s office or in minor cases it is dealt with by the District Police. According to law (Section 6, Law No. 108/76) the District Police investigates all criminal cases which can be dealt with by a fine and the District Police also have the power to prosecute in minor criminal cases. Some changes have been implemented from July 1997, but these do not affect the participants in this thesis.

The Icelandic Criminal Law may be divided into two main parts, the general part (hegningarlög), that is, the penal code, and a special law (sérrefsilög), which is for minor offences and offences concerning the various fields of society which are subject to frequent changes, such as, law concerning the use and distribution of alcohol, illicit drugs, traffic violations, customs, and taxes.

When a defendant is convicted of more than one offence, the judge is instructed to pass one sentence, for all the offences (Section 77 of the Penal Code), rather than imposing a separate sentence for each offence. If the offences are of different types, e.g. property and violence, then the sentence imposed will reflect the most serious case, which attracts the heaviest penalty (Almenn hegningarlög (Criminal Law), 1995). However, if a defendant has been sentenced to more than one prison sentence, during separate court cases, then he has to serve all the prison sentences consecutively.

2.1.1. ICELANDIC LAW ON CONFESSION.

According to Mitchell and Richardson (1985) and Zuckerman (1989), defendants can be convicted, in English law, on the basis of uncorroborated confessions. Gudjonsson (1992a) states that this often happens in practice. The law is somewhat different in Scotland, where there must be some independent evidence that can corroborate the defendant's confession (McEwan, 1991). Icelandic criminal law seems to be similar to the Scottish law in this respect. According to recent Icelandic law (Handbók. Meðferð opinberra mála (Handbook for the procedure of criminal cases), 1992) it is possible to conclude a case on the basis of a confession (Section 125 of the Law for the procedure of criminal cases), provided there is some corroborated evidence of the defendants guilt. However, a judge may convict a defendant, without corroborated evidence, when the defendant has made an absolute confession, provided the following five conditions are fulfilled (Section 123):

1. The defendant must be present in court and repeat his confession in front of the judge.
2. The defendant must make an absolute admission to what he is accused of and there must be some proof of his guilt, that is, the confession must be corroborated with some other evidence. In other words, there must be no reasonable doubt about whether the defendant did commit the offence he has confessed to.
3. The case is not disputed in court.
4. The largest sentence possible for the offence is not greater than eight years.
5. The Prosecutor or his deputy must be present in court, except in very simple cases and with a special permission.

2.2. DETENTION AND REMAND IN ICELAND.

In Iceland, the police are allowed to arrest and interrogate a person, without a warrant, if he is suspected of having committed a criminal offence. When a suspect has confessed to the police during an interrogation, he is usually allowed to go home, except in very serious criminal cases. The police can also detain a suspect in custody if there is credible evidence that he has committed a crime and that his detention is necessary in order to (1) prevent re-offending, (2) ensure his presence or security, and (3) to prevent the suspect from destroying evidence (Sections 97 to 102). In practice the suspects are not detained for more than 24 hours without a court decision, although the law does not specify the exact time, in hours or days, before which the police must produce the suspect in court. The police are supposed to ask for a decision “without delay” or preferably within 24 hours from the arrest.

According to Icelandic Criminal Law (Section 103 of the Law for the procedure of criminal cases) there are stringent conditions for remanding suspects in custody for more than 24 hours. These are: (1) the suspect must be at least 15 years old, (2) there must be substantiated evidence that he has committed the offence, and (3) the offence must carry a prison sentence.

In addition one of the following conditions must be met:

1. There is a possibility that the suspect will interfere with the investigation, e.g. destroy evidence, or influence witnesses or co-defendants.
2. There is a possibility that the suspect will try to go abroad or fail to appear in court.
3. There is a risk of re-offending if the person is out on bail.
4. Remand is necessary in order to protect others from the defendant or to protect the defendant from being attacked or influenced by others.
5. There is substantiated evidence that the defendant is guilty of a serious offence for which the penalty is at least ten years in prison.

In cases where one or more of the above criteria are not fulfilled there will be a full hearing to establish all the necessary facts in the case.

According to recent data, fewer offenders are remanded in custody (pre-trial detention) in Iceland than in any other European country (i.e. 1.1 per 100.000 inhabitants in 1994). The comparable figures for England and Wales, and Scotland in 1994 are 16.8 and 15.7 respectively (Council of Europe, 1996).

2.2.1. PERIOD BETWEEN ARREST, CONVICTION AND IMPRISONMENT.

In the majority of criminal cases in Iceland there is a considerable time, not only between arrest and court attendance, but also from conviction to imprisonment. Usually the defendant is allowed to go home when the police interview is over or at least when the investigation is finished. Only in very serious cases, for example, murders, rape and other serious violent offences, are suspects remanded in custody until their trial. After conviction, in all except the most serious offences, defendants normally have to wait a few weeks before they can begin to serve their sentence, because of a lack of facilities (i.e. prison beds). In recent years the process from arrest to imprisonment has been accelerated considerably due to the construction of a new prison and the introduction of non-custodial sentences. The “waiting list” for imprisonment has therefore been reduced considerably.

2.3. PRISONS IN ICELAND.

Prison sentences were first legalised in Iceland in the 17th century. Before that offenders were whipped, branded, or executed. Offenders who were sentenced to imprisonment were at first sent to Copenhagen, where they served their prison sentence in hard labour. This arrangement was considered too expensive and in the 18th century (1765-71) a prison was built in Reykjavik, but this prison was only in use for about fifty years. It is now the prime minister’s office. About fifty years later another prison was built in Reykjavik, *Hegningarhúsið* (1874), which is still in use as the main prison in Reykjavik. During the years in between, sentenced offenders were again sent to Denmark for hard labour.

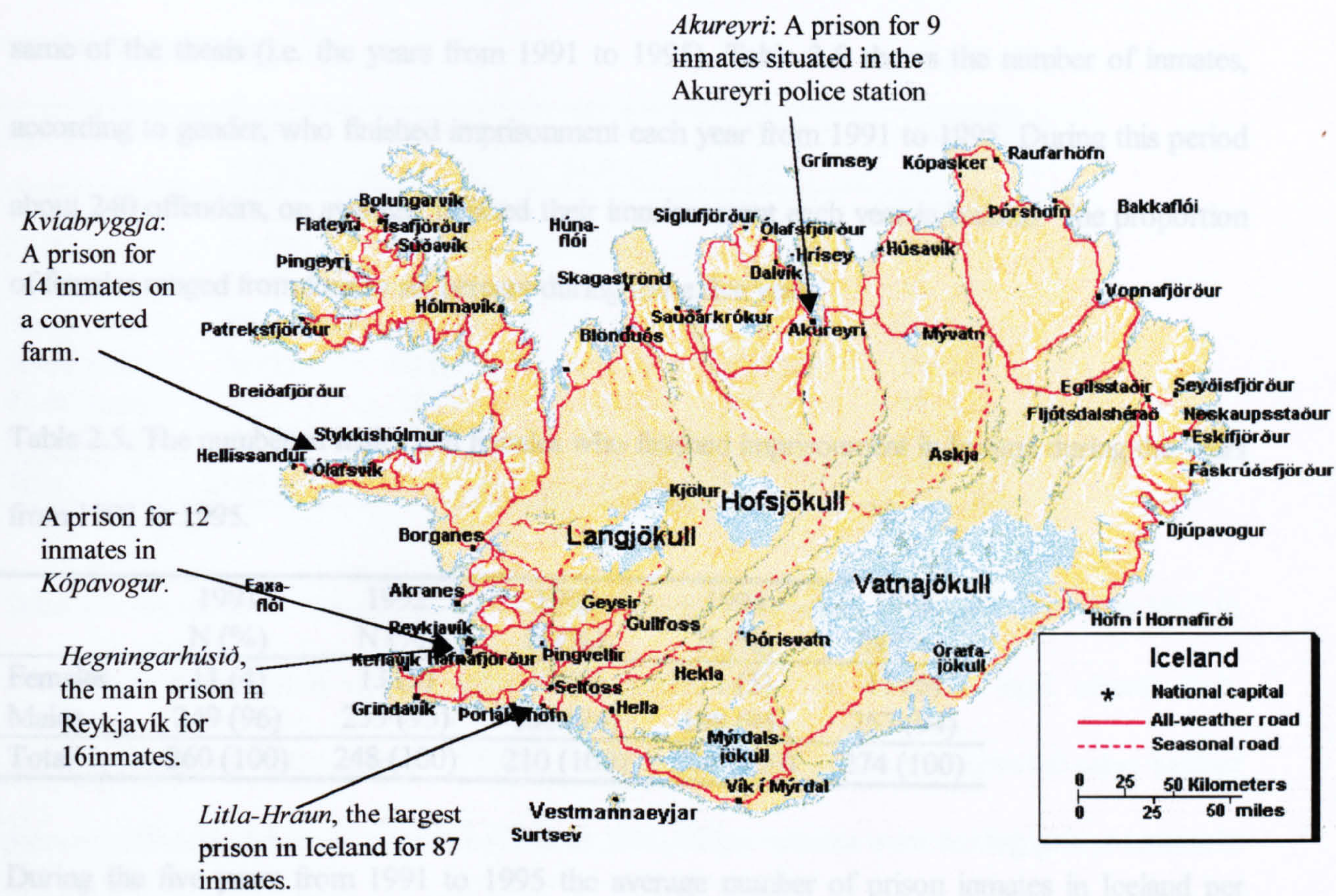
Currently there are five prisons in Iceland, two of them, including the *Hegningarhúsið*, are situated in the capital area and three in the country. Their location is shown in Figure 2.1. The largest prison, *Litla-Hraun*, which is situated about 65 kilometres south-east of Reykjavik, was established in 1929, when a hospital building was converted into a prison for 21 inmates (Thormundsson, 1992). A new prison building for 55 inmates has recently been constructed at *Litla-Hraun* so the prison currently houses up to 87 inmates. In 1963 a farm, *Kvíabryggja*, in the west part of Iceland was converted into a small prison and in 1989 a former juvenile delinquency institution in Kópavogur, a town near by Reykjavik, was converted into another small prison for both men and women. Since 1978 a part of the police station in Akureyri, the capital in the north part of Iceland, has been used as a prison for up to ten inmates. Currently a new prison in Reykjavik, for 60 to 70 inmates, is being designed. Table 2.4 describes the number of inmates in each of the prisons, and the distance from the office of the Prison and Probation Administration in Reykjavik in kilometres.

Table 2.4. The number of available places in the Icelandic prisons and their distance from Reykjavik in kilometres.

Prison	Maximum number of inmates	Distance from PPA office
<i>Litla-Hraun</i>	87	65 km
<i>Hegningarhúsið</i>	16	4 km
<i>Kópavogur prison</i>	12	7 km
<i>Kvíabryggja</i>	14	250 km
<i>Akureyri police station</i>	9	460 km
Total available places	138	

A single psychologist has been employed in the Icelandic prison service since 1974. The first few years on a part-time basis only, but during the last decade on a full-time basis. The

Figure 2.1. The location of prisons in Iceland.



psychologist is based at the office of the Prison and Probation Administration in Reykjavik and visits the prisons to interview the inmates and provide treatment. The psychologist also provides consultation and teaching for the prison service employees as well as conducting psychological and criminological research.

2.3.1. ICELANDIC PRISON STATISTICS.

The following statistics, which are derived from the Annual Report of the Prison and Probation Administration for 1996 (Skýrsla Fangelsismálastofnunar ríkisins, 1997), are presented here to give

the reader some further insight into the Icelandic prison system. The period which is shown is the same of the thesis (i.e. the years from 1991 to 1995). Table 2.5 shows the number of inmates, according to gender, who finished imprisonment each year from 1991 to 1995. During this period about 240 offenders, on average, finished their imprisonment each year in Iceland. The proportion of females ranged from four to six percent during these five years.

Table 2.5. The number of males and females who finished imprisonment in Iceland during the years from 1991 to 1995.

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Females	11 (4)	13 (5)	12 (6)	11 (5)	17 (6)
Males	249 (96)	235 (95)	198 (94)	198 (95)	257 (94)
Total	260 (100)	248 (100)	210 (100)	209 (100)	274 (100)

During the five years from 1991 to 1995 the average number of prison inmates in Iceland per 100.000 inhabitants ranged from 36 to 40. This inmate rate is very low when compared with the inmate rate in the other European countries. In 1994 the detention rate per 100.000 inhabitants in Iceland was 38.2, in England and Wales 96.0 and in Scotland 109.0 (Council of Europe, 1996).

Table 2.6. describes the number of Icelandic prison inmates between 1991 to 1995 in the age groups from 16 years to 51 and older. The largest proportion (27%) are in the age group 21 to 25 years, and the number of inmates in the youngest group seems to be gradually increasing.

Table 2.6. The number of Icelandic prison inmates who finished imprisonment between 1991 to 1995 according to age.

Age group	1991 N (%)	1992 N (%)	1993 N (%)	1994 N (%)	1995 N (%)
16-20 years	21 (8)	22 (9)	16 (8)	24 (12)	29 (11)
21-25 years	73 (28)	66 (27)	54 (26)	55 (26)	73 (27)
26-30 years	51 (20)	53 (21)	41 (19)	40 (19)	45 (16)
31-35 years	39 (15)	45 (18)	36 (17)	32 (15)	41 (15)
36-40 years	30 (12)	30 (12)	25 (12)	25 (12)	35 (13)
41-50 years	35 (13)	23 (9)	26 (12)	27 (13)	34 (12)
51 and older	11 (4)	9 (4)	12 (6)	6 (3)	17 (6)
Total	260 (100)	248 (100)	210 (100)	209 (100)	274 (100)

Table 2.7. describes the types of offence leading to imprisonment during the years between 1991 to 1995. The classification of the offences coincides with the Icelandic legal classification. Approximately half of the inmates (43% to 51%) were serving prison sentences for some kind of property offences and about a quarter (19% to 29%) of the inmates were serving prison sentences for serious traffic violations. During this five year period the number of drug related offences has increased, whereas the number of property offences has decreased. Together these two types of offences comprise between 54 to 59 per cent of the total number of offences during the relevant period.

Table 2.7. The types of offence leading to imprisonment in Icelandic during the years between 1991 to 1995.

Type of offence	1991 N (%)	1992 N (%)	1993 N (%)	1994 N (%)	1995 N (%)
Murder	15 (4)	12 (4)	14 (5)	12 (4)	9 (2)
Property offences	164 (48)	163 (49)	154 (51)	148 (47)	157 (43)
Traffic violations	98 (29)	80 (24)	62 (20)	61 (19)	81 (22)
Drug offences	22 (6)	28 (8)	24 (8)	34 (11)	51 (14)
Sexual offences	20 (6)	18 (5)	27 (9)	22 (7)	25 (7)
Violent offences	17 (5)	20 (6)	13 (4)	24 (7)	24 (6)
Arson	4 (1)	3 (1)	1 (<1)	1 (<1)	0 (0)
Other offences	3 (1)	10 (3)	10 (3)	15 (5)	21 (6)
Total	343 (100)	334 (100)	305 (100)	317 (100)	368 (100)

2.4. CONCLUSION.

In this chapter the author has given a brief introduction to the Icelandic Criminal Justice System. This is important because it provides a conceptual framework for understanding the context in which false confessions occur. The Icelandic Criminal Justice System is in many respects similar to that in the other Nordic countries, particularly that of Denmark, where there are strong common traditions and legal procedures. The legal system in Iceland is inquisitorial in nature, where there are strong corroboration criteria required with regard to confession evidence.

3. METHOD

3.1. PARTICIPANTS.

3.1.1. PRISON INMATES.

A total of 530 prison inmates were approached to request their participation in the project, 19 (4%) refused to participate and two further participants were too mentally disturbed to be assessed and were excluded from the study. Therefore 509 inmates, or 96 per cent of those who were approached, were participants in the study. This comprised 466 (92%) males and 43 (8%) females. The mean ages for the males and females were 30.4 (s.d. = 9.6, range 16 to 67 years) and 33.1 (s.d. = 8.5, range 16 to 57 years), respectively.

The inmates were serving prison sentences for various criminal offences and there were no remand prisoners in the study. Details of their offences are given in Chapter 5.

3.1.2. JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

A total of 135 juvenile offenders, that is, young 'first offenders', from the greater Reykjavik area were approached and 108 (80%) agreed to be assessed, comprising 94 (87%) males and 14 (13%) females. The mean age for the male and the female participants was 17.9 (s.d. = 1.7, range 15 to 23 years) and 18.0 (s.d. = 1.2, range 17 to 20 years), respectively. They had all been given a conditional discharge for a period of at least one year (range 1 to 5 years) after

pleading guilty to a criminal offence. One of the conditions of their discharge was that they attended supervision sessions with a probation officer during the period of their discharge. Of the 108 who participated in the study, 105 (97%) had committed property offences, a further two had committed criminal damage and one a take and drive away offence.

3.2. INSTRUMENTS.

3.2.1. THE GUDJONSSON CONFESSION QUESTIONNAIRE-REVISED (GCQ-R).

The GCQ-R measures the reasons participants give for having confessed to the police and their attitude towards their interrogation(s). It was constructed and developed by Gudjonsson and was first used in a study of Icelandic prison inmates by Gudjonsson and Petursson (1991). It was subsequently employed in a study of prison inmates in Northern Ireland (Gudjonsson and Bownes, 1991). The Icelandic translation of the questionnaire used in the Gudjonsson and Petursson (1991) study was used in this project.

The questionnaire consists of 36 items, with each item being rated on a seven-point Likert scale. The lower end of the scale is labelled “Not at all” (score 1 and 2) and the upper end as “Very much so” (score 6 and 7), with the label “Somewhat” indicating a range of in-between scores (scores 3, 4 and 5).

Twelve of the 36 items, which make up three scales, are directly relevant to the reasons why suspects confess to the police. The three scales are referred to as: (1) External Pressure, which consists of six items and refers to perceived pressure from the police or fear of custody (e.g.,

“Did you confess because you were frightened of the police?”, “Did you confess because you were frightened of being locked up?”); (2) Internal Pressure, which contains four items related to the need of the suspect to confess as a way of relieving distress (e.g., “Did you confess because you felt guilty about the offence?”, “Did you experience a sense of relief after confessing?”); and (3) Perception of Proof, which contains two items (e.g., “Did you believe that there was no point in denying it?”, “Did you think the police would eventually prove you did it?”).

An additional four items, referred to as an Inhibitory Factor, highlight the reasons that make it difficult for suspects to confess, such as the perceived aversive consequences of doing so (e.g., “Did you find it difficult to confess because you did not want others to know what you had done?”, “Did the thought that you might be viewed by others as a ‘criminal’ make you less willing to confess?”).

The first three factors, “External Pressure”, “Internal Pressure” and “Perception of Proof”, are facilitative factors in the sense that they increase the likelihood that suspects will confess, whereas the “Inhibitory Factor”, in contrast, makes it more difficult for suspects to confess. The remaining 20 items from the GCQ related to the attitude of the suspects towards their confession and their understanding of their legal rights. These are not directly relevant to the reasons why suspects confess and the factors that inhibit suspects from confessing.

In the current project 16 questions were added to the original GCQ in order to expand some of the factors and to address issues that were not satisfactorily dealt with in the original

questionnaire. The revised Icelandic version of the GCQ consists of 52 items and is shown in full in Appendix II along with its English translation.

In the present project the sixteen items added to the 36-item GCQ are as follows:

1. Three items that are conceptually related to the “perception of proof” (i.e., “Did you confess because you were apprehended committing the offence?”, “Did you confess because it was obvious that you had committed the offence?”, “Did you confess because you saw no point in denying at the time?”). The reason for adding these three items was to identify more clearly the suspect’s perceived strength of evidence at the time of the interrogation.
2. One item (i.e., “Did you find it difficult to confess because you felt ashamed of the offence?”), which is related to the Inhibitory Factor, was added to the questionnaire, because a feeling of shame had not been directly measured in the original questionnaire and the feeling of shame has been shown to be distinct from the feeling of guilt (Gudjonsson, 1992a).
3. Two items that relate to the suspect’s consideration of the behaviour of a co-defendant (i.e., “Did you confess because your co-defendant implicated you?”, “Did you find it difficult to confess because you wanted to cover up the offence in order to protect a co-defendant?”). Considering the potential importance of attempts to protect others on the readiness (or reluctance in some instances) to confess, particularly in drug related offences where there is often more than one offender, these two items were considered a useful addition to the questionnaire.

4. Two items were included to assess whether the participant had minimised or exaggerated his involvement in the offence when interviewed by the police (i.e., “Did you minimise your involvement in the offence”, “Did you exaggerate your involvement in the offence?”).
5. One question addressed whether the participant had felt isolated from his family and friends during the police interview (i.e. “Did you confess because you felt isolated from your family and friends?”).
6. One question was concerned with whether the participant had considered that it was in his interest to have confessed (i.e., “Did you think it was in your own interest to confess?”).
7. One question related to the undesirability of confessing (i.e., “Did you find it difficult to confess because you wanted to avoid the consequences (e.g. be sentenced, go to prison?”).
8. Five items related to alcohol and illicit drug intoxication during the commission of the offence and the interrogation (i.e., “Were you under the influence of alcohol when you committed the offence?”, “Were you under the influence of other intoxicating substances when you committed the offence?”, “Were you under the influence of alcohol during the police interview(s)”, “Were you under the influence of other intoxicating substances during the police interview(s)”, “Did you experience withdrawal symptoms from intoxicating substances during the police interview(s)?”).

The purpose of including these five items was to be able to investigate the influence of alcohol and illicit drugs on the participants' feelings and behaviour during police interrogation.

3.2.2. THE GUDJONSSON COMPLIANCE SCALE (GCS).

The GCS was used to measure the tendency of the participants to conform with requests made by others, particularly people in authority, in order to please them or to avoid conflict and confrontation. The GCS is a self-report inventory which consists of 20 statements which are answered as either True or False (Gudjonsson, 1989a, 1997a). The items are mainly loaded on two factors: (a) avoidance of conflict and confrontation, and (b) eagerness to please. The Icelandic translation of the GCS, as well as the English version, is shown in Appendix II. The Icelandic translation used in the present project is that from Birgisson (1989) with the exception that the true-false format of the original English version was used instead of the yes-no format used by Birgisson.

3.2.3. THE GUDJONSSON SUGGESTIBILITY SCALE (GSS 1).

The GSS 1 was developed for both research and clinical purposes (Gudjonsson, 1984, 1997a). The scale consists of a short story and 20 specific questions. Fifteen of the questions are leading and five are non-leading. The Scale has standardised scoring criteria with very high inter-rater reliability (Richardson and Smith, 1993).

The Icelandic translation of the GSS 1 was employed (Haraldsson, 1985). The specific questions were administered after immediate recall in accordance with the method used by Gudjonsson and Lister (1984) and Gudjonsson and Singh (1984). The revised scoring of the GSS 1 recommended by Singh and Gudjonsson (1984) was used.

In the present study, the GSS 1 gave the following individual measures:

1. Immediate Recall (IR). This is the number of ideas the participants recall immediately after the story has been read out to them. The maximum score is 40 (range 0-40).
2. Yield 1 (Y1). This is the extent to which participants give in to leading questions prior to negative feedback being administered. The maximum score is 15 (range 0-15).
3. Yield 2 (Y2). This is an identical measure to Yield 1, with the exception that it represents the number of questions yielded to after the participant has been given negative feedback. As with Yield 1, the scores range from 0 to 15.
4. Shift (S). This is the number of times participants have changed their answers to the 20 questions after being subjected to negative feedback. The range of scores is from 0 to 20.
5. Total Suggestibility (TS). This is the combined scores of Yield 1 and Shift, with the range of scores being from 0 to 35.
6. Confabulation. Confabulation did not form a part of the original GSS 1, but has been found to be a useful measure concerning memory errors when reporting factual events (Gudjonsson, 1997a). Distortions and fabrications, which make up

confabulation, can be calculated separately for both immediate and delayed recall. Gudjonsson (1997a) gives a detailed illustration of the scoring of confabulation. A *distortion* is defined as a change in the details of an idea in the story, or the substitution of an idea from one part of the story for that from another. In contrast *fabrication* is defined as the introduction of an entirely novel idea that was neither mentioned or obviously implied in the story.

The author was trained in the administration and scoring of the GSS 1 by Gudjonsson, who also double checked the scoring of memory, suggestibility and confabulation, of the two samples (i.e. prison inmates and juveniles).

The Icelandic translation of the GSS 1 is given in Appendix II along with the English version.

3.2.4. THE GOUGH SOCIALISATION SCALE.

The Gough Socialisation Scale of the *California Psychological Inventory* (CPI) (Gough, 1960; Megargee, 1972) was used to measure the extent to which the individual has internalised the values of society. This is a 54 item (True-False) scale, which has been shown to differentiate significantly between offender and non-offender groups (Megargee, 1972; Schalling, 1978; Gudjonsson, Petursson, Sigurdardottir and Skulason, 1991) and to be a valid measure of personality disorder (Schalling, 1978; Hare and Cox, 1978; Gudjonsson and Roberts, 1985).

The Icelandic translation of the Scale is in Appendix II, which is from Gudjonsson et al. (1991). The English version of the Scale is also given in Appendix II.

3.2.5. THE EYSENCK PERSONALITY QUESTIONNAIRE (EPQ).

The Icelandic translation of *the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire* (EPQ) (Eysenck and Haraldsson, 1983; Haraldsson and Bjornsson, 1985) was used to measure psychoticism (P), extraversion (E), neuroticism (N), and social desirability (L) (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1975). The Addiction Scale from the EPQ (Gossop and Eysenck, 1980) was also used, as a measure of susceptibility to drug dependency. This is a 101 item questionnaire with a Yes-No answer format. The Icelandic translation of the questionnaire is given in Appendix II along with the English version.

Gossop and Eysenck (1980) studying drug addicts and normal participants, constructed an “*Addiction*” scale from the 32 items on the EPQ that differentiated most between these two groups. Thirteen of the items are drawn from the neuroticism scale, nine from the psychoticism scale, six from the lie scale, and four from the extraversion scale.

3.2.6. THE SELF-DECEPTION AND THE OTHER-DECEPTION QUESTIONNAIRES (SDQ AND ODQ).

The SDQ and ODQ questionnaires of Sackeim and Gur (1979) were used to measure the extent to which people tend to deceive themselves (SDQ) and others (ODQ), respectively.

Paulhus (1984) and Gudjonsson (1990) have found that both self-deception and other-deception are relevant to socially desirable responding.

The SDQ and ODQ contain 20 questions in each scale, which are rated on a 7-point Likert scale. The lower end of the SDQ is labelled 'Not at all' (1,2) and the upper end 'Very much so' (6,7) and scores one and two are given one point. The maximum SDQ score is 20 (range 0-20). In contrast the lower end of the ODQ is labelled 'Never' (1,2) and the upper end 'Always' (6,7). Scores of six or seven are given one point, the maximum score 20 points (range 0-20). Only the extreme scores on the SDQ and ODQ are used to measure self-deception and other-deception (Gudjonsson, 1990).

The Icelandic translation of the SDQ and ODQ is that from Gudjonsson et al. (1991) and is given in Appendix II along with the English version of the scales.

The reason for including these two deception scales was to add to the discriminative power of the EPQ Lie scale, particularly as it does not satisfactorily measure self-deception (Sackeim and Gur, 1979).

3.2.7. THE RAVEN'S STANDARD PROGRESSIVE MATRICES (SPM).

The SPM (Raven, Court, and Raven, 1992) was used to measure the participants's intellectual ability. This test provides an objective measure of non-verbal intellectual skills and it is relatively easy to administer. It consists of five sets of 12 diagrammatic puzzles, which give a

total of 60 puzzles. Each puzzle has a part missing and the participant taking the test has to find the correct solution from the options provided. The participants were asked to complete the test in 20 minutes (Raven et al. 1992). The Manual does not provide a conversion into I.Q. scores so the raw scores were used in the current analysis of the participants' non-verbal intellectual abilities. The reasons for using the SPM were that it is easy and quick to administer, it provides a good measure of intellectual skills independent of education, and it has been effectively used previously among Icelandic prison inmates (Gudjonsson et al. 1991).

3.2.8. A SUBSTANCE ABUSE QUESTIONNAIRE (SAQ).

A specially designed Substance Abuse Questionnaire (SAQ) was constructed to measure the participants' use of illicit substances and their use of alcohol. Copies of the SAQ, both in Icelandic and English, are given in Appendix II. The questionnaire included items about the frequency of alcohol use, the use of cannabis, amphetamine, cocaine and any other illicit drug. The participants were instructed to name any other illicit drug(s) (apart from cannabis, amphetamine and cocaine) they had used. The frequency of alcohol and drug use was rated on a nine point scale: *(1) Daily, (2) a few times a week, (3) weekly, (4) a few times a month, (5) monthly, (6) less frequently than monthly, (7) not the last six months, (8) not the last twelve months, and (9) never.* This rating scale was adapted from an Icelandic study into alcohol consumption in Iceland and the Nordic countries (Bjorrannsóknin, 1989).

The participants were also asked about intravenous drug use (IVDU), inpatient treatment for substance abuse, whether they believed that their substance use had decreased after being

apprehended for the current offence, and whether or not they regarded themselves as having alcohol and drug abuse problems.

The information about drug use from SAQ was used to measure drug dependency. It was decided to use reasonably stringent criteria for 'drug dependency', because many of the prisoners had a long history of drug use. The following criteria were used: (1) reporting illicit drug use weekly or more frequently during the six months prior to their imprisonment; and (2) reporting having taken drugs intravenously at sometime during their life.

3.2.9. FALSE CONFESSION CHECKLIST (FCC).

The False Confession Checklist (FCC) was constructed to obtain information about the nature, circumstances, and consequences of the false confession the participants claimed to have made to the police. The Checklist was only administered to those participants who, on direct questioning, claimed that they had sometime in their life confessed to the police to a crime they had not committed. It consists of a number of questions that were asked by the investigator and the answers were noted verbatim and subsequently scored as either 1 ("Yes") or 2 ("No"). A copy of the FCC is given in Appendix II along with an English translation.

In addition to the FCC the participants were asked to give a detailed account of the claimed false confession and the surrounding circumstances, which was recorded verbatim. A brief synopsis of each case is given in Appendix III. In all the claimed false confessions the author

attempted to follow-up the cases from court papers which he obtained from the Prison and Probation Administration (PPA).

3.3. PROCEDURE.

With the exception of two inmates, all participants were approached within ten days of admission to one of the five prisons in Iceland. Only new admissions to the Icelandic prisons were asked to participate in the study. If people were readmitted on a subsequent admission they were not assessed again. In the majority of cases (77% of the sample) the males were interviewed in the main prison in Reykjavik, *Hegningarhúsið*, when only 11 per cent were interviewed in the other four prisons in Iceland. The females (12% of the sample) were interviewed in the only female prison in Iceland, in Kopavogur.

All the juveniles who were given a conditional discharge over the period of approximately one year in the greater Reykjavik area were approached and 80 per cent agreed to co-operate. They were attending the office of the Prison and Probation Administration for supervision sessions as a part of their conditional discharge. When they had been interviewed by their supervisor (probation officer) they were asked by her to participate in the study. If they agreed in principle to participate then they were approached by the author, who had no involvement in their case, and the study was explained to them.

Out of the 135 juveniles approached by their supervisor, 18 (13%) declined to participate in the study and a further eight participants (6%) wanted to think about it and never returned for

the study. One participant did not have time to complete all the personality tests. This left a total of 108 participants (80%) who completed all the tests. All were interviewed and tested individually and in private at the author's office at the Prison and Probation Administration in Reykjavik.

The same tests were administered to the prison inmates and the juvenile offenders with the exception that the SDQ and ODQ were not administered to the juveniles. The reason was that some of the questions contained within the questionnaires were quite intrusive (e.g. dealing with sexual matters) and it was thought that they might upset some of the younger juveniles.

The interview started with an introduction to the examiner and his position within the prison system. There was a general conversation in order to establish good rapport which lasted for about five to ten minutes. The study was then introduced and they were asked to participate. The participants were told that the study was an investigation into their offence, their criminal background, their alcohol and drug use, and their personality. In order to conceal the main purpose of the study, false confessions were not mentioned in the introduction to the purpose of the study. All the participants were told that the information they provided would be confidential and anonymous. It was made clear to them that the assessment would not influence in any way their status within the penal system. The participants were invited to ask any questions they had about the project or about confidentiality. If the offender agreed to participate in the study then their written consent was obtained before the assessment commenced.

Before the psychological tests were administered the participants were asked about their current offence and whether a solicitor had been present during the interrogation(s). They were also asked to estimate how often they had been interrogated by the police before their current offence, in order to obtain an account of their experiences of police interrogations. Following this question they were asked whether or not they had ever made a false confession to the police, to what kind of offence, the reason for making it and whether or not it had been retracted. If the participant claimed to have made a false confession to the police sometime in his life he was allowed to finish the whole battery of tests before he was asked to give a detailed account of the false confession and asked further questions by the use of the False Confession Checklist (FCC). The content of the questions is given in Appendix II.

All the prison inmates were interviewed individually and in private in a medical office or a interview room, where the psychological tests were administered.

Due to the way in which the project changed over time not all the prison inmates completed all the instruments listed above and there are also some missing data concerning the nature of the false confession. As discussed in the Introduction, the focus of the study changed with more emphasis being placed on the claimed false confessions than true confessions. This was accompanied by additional psychological tests being administered. By the time the data collection commenced with the juveniles no further tests were added.

The data collection of the prison inmate sample was conducted in the following steps according to the development of the project:

1. The first 110 participants completed a test battery which consisted of the SAQ, the GCQ-R, the ODQ, the SDQ and the Gough Socialisation Scale. The mean administration time was approximately 50 minutes.
2. Realising the willingness of the inmates to co-operate with the study and the finding that several of the inmates were claiming to have made a false confession to the police during interrogation, the Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale (GSS 1) was added to the test battery and given to all the subsequent participants.
3. After 229 participants had been assessed it was decided to expand the project and focus predominantly on claimed false confessions. The aim was to attempt to increase the number of false confessors in the study in order to make comparisons possible with those prison inmates who had no history of having made a false confession. In addition, it offered the opportunity of studying different sub-groups of false confessions, such as *voluntary*, *coerced-compliant*, and *coerced-internalised* types, which is of considerable theoretical importance as discussed in Chapter 1.

It was also decided to add two further psychological tests to the study, the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire and the Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices, as well as questions about the participants education and employment. The reasons for this were to measure the participant's personality more thoroughly, as well as their intelligence and educational and employment status. Average administration time with this addition rose to about 85 minutes.

As before all new admissions were approached and they completed the SAQ and the GCQ-R. After that they were asked whether or not they had ever made a false confession to the police. If they said they had done so then all the psychological tests were administered to them. If they had no history of making a false confession to the police then the psychological tests were only administered to every fourth newly admitted inmate as well as to every female inmate. The reason for testing comprehensively only every fourth newly admitted inmate was that continuing to administer all the tests to every inmate was not necessary for the purpose of the present project. The reason for continuing to test all female inmates was due to the small number of females admitted to the Icelandic prisons. A total of 252 inmates participated during this part of the procedure, which gave a total of 481 inmates being assessed so far. The assessment of the 481 inmates made it possible to obtain an indication for the proportion of inmates in the Icelandic prisons who claimed to have made false confessions to the police. This was to be the end of the data collection for the doctoral thesis.

4. After the 481 inmates had been assessed, 56 of whom claimed to have made a false confession to the police, the author continued to approach and administer all the tests to female offenders and sex offenders only as a part of another project, which aimed specifically at these two groups. Of those further inmates tested, six claimed to have made a false confession to the police and they were added to the 56 false confessors already collected in order to increase the number of false confessors who were to be compared with other inmates in terms of the psychological variables. This was considered important since the number of false confessors in the present

study was quite small, particularly those of the *coerced-internalised* type. After the initial data collection was completed and the analysis was done it became evident that the claimed false confessions of the *coerced-internalised* type were very small in numbers and the additional six false confessors provided useful further data for analysis.

3.4. CLASSIFICATION OF OFFENCES.

The type of current offence committed by the prison inmates and the juveniles was classified according to the court papers, which were all available at the office of the Prison and Probation Administration. The following groups were made for the purpose of the present project and it coincides with the Icelandic legal classification: (1) Property related offences, including theft, forgery and robbery; (2) Serious traffic offences, which includes drunken driving and driving whilst disqualified; (3) Drug related offences, which comprises either being in possession of illicit drugs or supplying them; (4) Sexual offences; (5) Violent offences; and (6) Other types of offence, which includes arson and offences against persons in public service.

The Criminal and Prison Records of the inmates were obtained and they gave a detailed account of all previous convictions and sentences given and served. This made it possible to obtain information about the age at which the inmate first received his first criminal conviction (after the age of criminal responsibility which commences at the age of 15 in Iceland), the number and type of previous convictions, the age at which the inmate first served a prison sentence, the number of times prison sentences had been served, and the number of days

served in prison prior to the current offence. As far as sentences are concerned, for the prison inmates, the number of previous suspended prison sentences, as well as all unconditional prison sentences, were recorded and analysed. A suspended sentence means that the offender does not go to prison unless he re-offends over a given period of time, which ranges from 1 to 5 years depending on the case. An unconditional prison sentence means that the offender must serve his sentence in one of the five Icelandic prisons. It is important to note that in Iceland only in the most serious offences does the offender serve his sentence immediately after the pronouncement of the sentence.

4. THE REASONS FOR CONFESSING: THE GUDJONSSON CONFESSIOIN QUESTIONNAIRE-REVISED (GCQ-R)

4.1. INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of the present chapter is to examine current work done on the Gudjonsson Confession Questionnaire-Revised (GCQ-R) with Icelandic prison inmates. In the present study a revised version of the GCQ was used to investigate the participants' perceptions and reactions to the police interview regarding an offence for which they had confessed to and claimed was true. The revision of the GCQ for the purpose of the present thesis is discussed, data on 411 inmates are factor analysed, and reliability coefficients provided. The chapter will provide information on the statistical properties of the GCQ-R, which includes its factor structure and factor scores.

The GCQ has proved a valuable instrument for objectively measuring the perceptions and attitudes of suspects concerning their confession to the police. This is important because it furthers our understanding of the subjective experiences of suspects that are instrumental to their making a confession to the police. Even though the GCQ was developed to investigate the reasons offenders give for having confessed to crimes they claim they have truly committed, the instrument can also be used to investigate their perceptions and reactions to interrogations which they claim resulted in a false confession.

In Chapter 5 (5.7) the factor scores on the GCQ-R are investigated in relation to the participants' claimed false confession. The present Chapter provides the statistical basis for those subsequent

analyses. The use of factor analysis of the GCQ items enables us to reduce the number of related items (correlation matrix) into a manageable and conceptually meaningful number of factors. The reliability (i.e. internal consistency and test-retest correlation coefficients) of the factors can then be assessed as well as the validity of the factors.

4.2. METHOD.

4.2.1. PARTICIPANTS.

The participants in this study were 411 prison inmates, who completed the GCQ-R for the offence they were imprisoned for when they were interviewed by the author.

4.2.2. INSTRUMENTS.

All the participants completed the revised version of the GCQ, which was used by Sigurdsson and Gudjonsson (1994). The GCQ-R consists of 52 items, with each item being rated on a seven-point Likert scale, which is described in Chapter 3 (3.2.1). The content of the 52 questions is given in Appendix II.

4.2.3. PROCEDURE.

The participants completed the GCQ-R in relation to the offence/offences for which they were currently serving a prison sentence. Those inmates who stated that they had not made any confession to the police were asked to complete the GCQ-R in relation to another recent offence to which they had confessed.

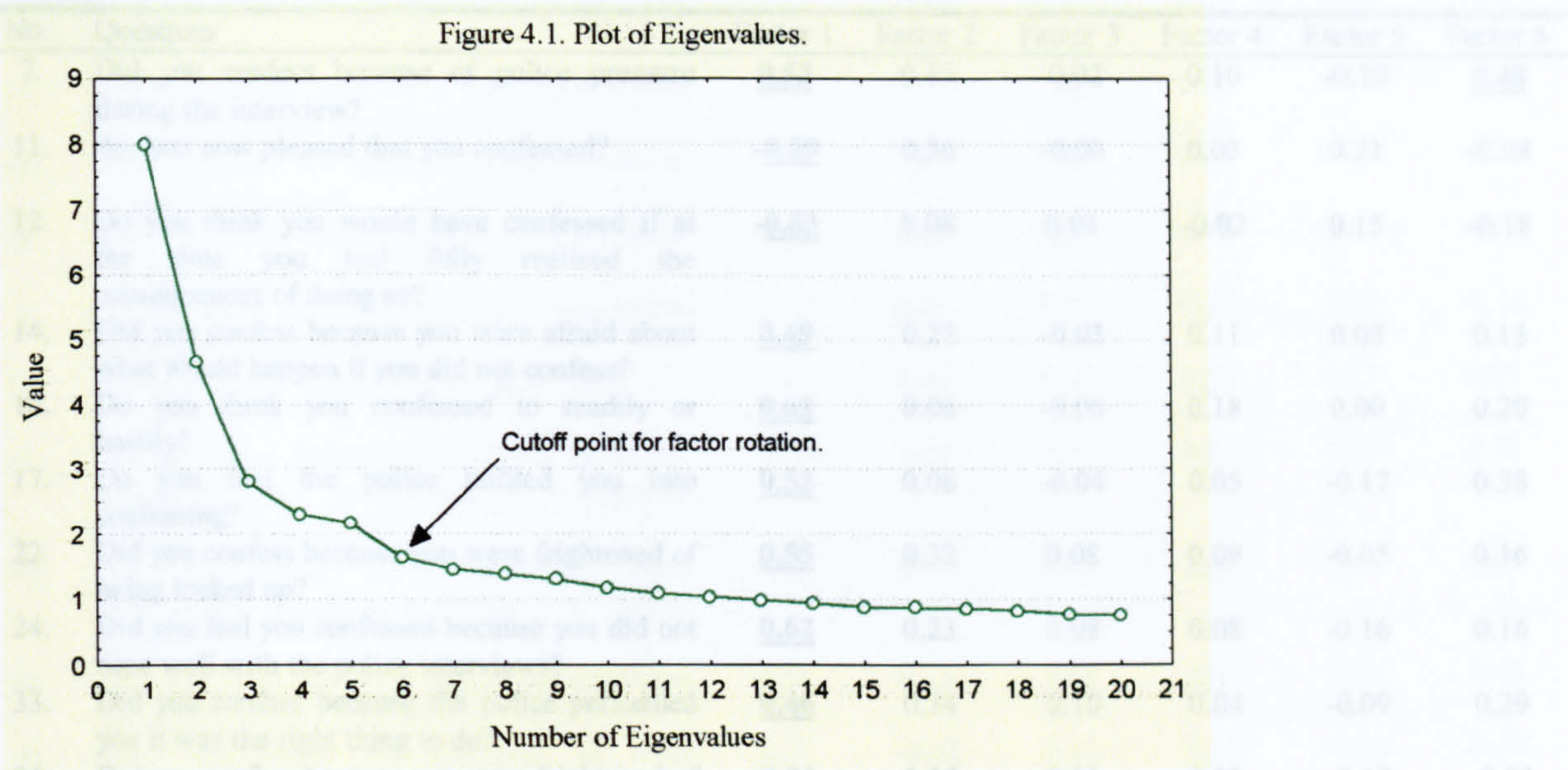
In addition, 53 of the inmates, selected at random, were asked to complete the GCQ-R again for the same offence at a later date in order to establish the test-retest reliability of the GCQ-R factors. The mean time span between the first and the second administration of the GCQ-R was 4.2 months (S.D.=5.2) ranging from one to 37 months.

4.3. RESULTS.

4.3.1. FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE GCQ-R.

Figure 4.1 shows a plot of eigenvalues as well as the cut-off point of rotation, which was used in the analysis. The factor analysis of the GCQ-R revealed 12 factors with eigenvalues greater than 1, but six factors were rotated according to the Scree-test (Kline, 1994), using Varimax procedure, as this appeared to give a meaningful and conceptually interpretable model. The loadings on these six factors, which accounted for 43% of the variance, are shown in Table 4.1. Only loadings equal or above 0.40 were used to make up the factor scores for each participant.

Figure 4.1. Plot of Eigenvalues.



The two questions on the GCQ-R relating to co-defendants and the presence of a solicitor during the police interview/s (“Did you confess because you expected your co-defendants to speak?” and “Would you have confessed if a solicitor had been present during the interrogation?”) were left out of the factor analysis. The participants were asked to ignore the questions if they did not apply to their case and therefore they were only filled in by a small minority of participants. The content of the remaining 50 questions is shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Factor loadings (Varimax rotation) of the revised Gudjonsson Confession Questionnaire on the first six factors*.

No.	Questions	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
7.	Did you confess because of police pressure during the interview?	<u>0.53</u>	0.15	-0.02	0.10	-0.10	<u>0.48</u>
11.	Are you now pleased that you confessed?	<u>-0.59</u>	0.36	-0.00	0.03	0.21	-0.08
12.	Do you think you would have confessed if at the time you had fully realised the consequences of doing so?	<u>-0.63</u>	0.08	0.03	-0.02	0.15	-0.18
14.	Did you confess because you were afraid about what would happen if you did not confess?	<u>0.49</u>	0.27	-0.03	0.11	0.05	0.13
16.	Do you think you confessed to readily or hastily?	<u>0.62</u>	0.06	-0.06	0.18	0.00	0.20
17.	Do you feel the police bullied you into confessing?	<u>0.52</u>	0.06	-0.04	0.05	-0.17	0.38
22.	Did you confess because you were frightened of being locked up?	<u>0.55</u>	0.32	0.08	0.09	-0.05	0.16
24.	Did you feel you confessed because you did not cope well with the police interviews?	<u>0.62</u>	0.23	0.08	0.08	-0.16	0.16
33.	Did you confess because the police persuaded you it was the right thing to do?	<u>0.46</u>	0.34	0.10	0.04	-0.09	0.29
34.	Did you confess because you were frightened of the police?	<u>0.54</u>	0.25	0.01	0.01	-0.30	-0.02
26.	Do you now regret having confessed?	<u>0.76</u>	-0.11	-0.06	0.08	0.02	0.06
36.	Did you confess because at the time you believed the police would beat you up if you did not confess?	<u>0.40</u>	0.06	-0.04	0.26	-0.24	-0.16
2.	Did you confess because you felt guilty about the offence?	-0.13	<u>0.61</u>	-0.13	-0.00	0.04	-0.33
4.	Did you feel you wanted to get it off your chest?	-0.10	<u>0.66</u>	-0.21	0.06	0.12	-0.16
13.	Did you experience a sense of relief after confessing?	-0.30	<u>0.60</u>	-0.16	0.18	0.15	-0.14
18.	Did you feel tense or nervous whilst being interviewed by the police?	0.22	<u>0.46</u>	0.13	-0.02	-0.17	0.05
28.	Did the thought that you might be viewed by others as a 'criminal' make you less willing to confess?	0.15	<u>0.59</u>	-0.00	-0.14	-0.03	0.25
29.	Did you confess because you had the need to talk to somebody?	0.04	<u>0.42</u>	-0.31	0.28	-0.10	-0.18
30.	Did you confess because at the time you felt you needed help?	0.08	<u>0.53</u>	-0.12	0.37	-0.02	-0.17
31.	Did you find it difficult to confess because you did not want others to know what you had done?	0.19	<u>0.66</u>	0.11	-0.15	-0.08	0.30
32.	Did you find it difficult to confess because you did not want to accept what you had done?	0.13	<u>0.67</u>	0.21	-0.01	-0.06	0.10
38.	Did you find it difficult to confess because you were ashamed about having committed the offence?	0.09	<u>0.70</u>	0.18	-0.13	-0.10	0.07
39.	Did you confess because you felt isolated from your family and friends?	0.37	<u>0.42</u>	-0.05	0.25	-0.11	0.11
8.	Would you have confessed to the police if they had not suspected you of the crime?	-0.08	0.30	<u>-0.41</u>	-0.03	0.06	-0.38
35.	Did you confess because you saw no point in denying at the time?	0.12	0.03	<u>0.50</u>	-0.01	0.05	0.28

No.	Questions	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
42.	Did you confess because you were apprehended committing the offence?	-0.15	-0.12	<u>0.64</u>	0.03	0.02	-0.04
43.	Did you confess because it was obvious that you had committed the offence?	-0.33	0.07	<u>0.53</u>	0.05	0.09	0.08
46.	Were you under the influence of alcohol during the police interview?	0.10	-0.03	<u>0.59</u>	0.09	-0.02	-0.22
49.	Were you under the influence of alcohol when you committed the offence?	-0.00	0.13	<u>0.59</u>	0.10	0.11	-0.27
1.	Did you think that after confessing you would be allowed to go home?	0.05	0.05	0.11	<u>-0.43</u>	0.06	-0.10
10.	Did you confess to protect somebody else?	0.11	0.01	-0.11	<u>0.54</u>	0.07	0.27
44.	Did you find it difficult to confess because you wanted to cover up the offence in order to protect a co-defendant?	0.18	-0.02	-0.10	<u>0.54</u>	0.03	0.38
47.	Were you under the influence of other intoxicating substances during the police interview?	0.15	-0.09	0.19	<u>0.65</u>	-0.22	0.09
48.	Did you experience withdrawal symptoms during the police interview?	0.21	0.11	0.38	<u>0.49</u>	0.01	0.03
50.	Were you under the influence of other intoxicating substances during the offence?	0.01	-0.03	0.12	<u>0.68</u>	-0.15	0.19
19.	Were your rights explained to you?	-0.04	0.08	0.05	-0.05	<u>0.68</u>	-0.08
20.	Did you at the time understand what your rights were?	-0.13	-0.07	0.00	-0.07	<u>0.78</u>	-0.05
21.	Did you understand the Police Caution?	-0.12	-0.04	0.03	-0.19	<u>0.76</u>	0.02
15.	Were you initially very unwilling to confess?	0.29	-0.01	-0.03	0.15	0.03	<u>0.63</u>
27.	Did you at first deny having committed the offence?	0.14	0.02	-0.06	0.19	-0.02	<u>0.72</u>
40.	Did you find it difficult to confess because you wanted to avoid the consequences (e.g. be sentenced, go to prison)?	0.28	0.33	0.15	-0.02	-0.11	<u>0.52</u>
41.	Did you minimise your involvement in the offence when interviewed by the police?	0.08	-0.02	-0.02	0.24	-0.08	<u>0.43</u>
45.	Did you confess because your co-defendant implicated you?	0.09	-0.11	-0.21	0.20	-0.06	<u>0.52</u>
3.	Did you believe that there was no point in denying it?	-0.11	0.08	0.13	-0.23	0.21	-0.27
5.	Did you think that you might get a lighter sentence if you confessed?	0.15	0.34	-0.12	-0.06	0.08	0.03
6.	Did you think the police would eventually prove you did it?	-0.20	0.22	0.31	0.19	0.03	0.06
9.	Did you think it was in your own interest to confess?	-0.12	0.27	0.04	-0.16	0.28	-0.31
23.	Did you become confused during the police interviews?	0.35	0.19	0.37	0.38	-0.20	-0.02
25.	Did thoughts of (or talks with) your family and friends make it more difficult for you to confess?	0.29	0.36	-0.03	0.01	-0.01	0.26
37.	Did you exaggerate your involvement in the offence?	0.35	-0.09	-0.19	0.17	0.07	-0.06
Percentage of total variance accounted for		16.1	9.4	5.6	4.6	4.4	3.3

*Loadings ≥ 0.40 underlined. **Factor 1: External Pressure, Factor 2: Internal Pressure, Factor 3: Perception of Proof, Factor 4: Drug Intoxication, Factor 5: Legal Rights, Factor 6: Resistance.

The six factors which emerged are referred to as:

(1) External Pressure. Twelve items had salient loadings on this factor. This included seven items which were directly related to perceived police pressure or fear of custody (items 7, 14, 17, 22, 33, 34, and 36), and five items which were related to the suspects' attitudes toward their confession, reactions and regrets about having made the confession (items 11, 12, 16, 24, and 26).

(2) Internal Pressure. Eleven items loaded saliently on this factor. Six of the items were related to the need of the suspect to confess as a way of relieving distress or feelings of remorse (items 2, 4, 13, 29, 30, and 39), four items which relate to finding it difficult to confess (items 28, 31, 32, and 38), and one item which relates to the suspect's feelings of anxiety during the interrogation (item 18).

(3) Perception of Proof. Six items had salient loadings on this factor. Three of the items were directly related to the suspects' belief that it was obvious to the police that they had committed the offence (items 35, 42, and 43), two items were related to alcohol intoxication during the offence and the police interview (items 46 and 49), and one item was concerned with the suspects' views about their confession (item 8).

(4) Drug Intoxication. Six items had salient loadings on this factor. Three of the items were directly related to drug intoxication and withdrawal symptoms during the offence and the police interviews (items 47, 48, and 50), two items were concerned with the protection of a co-defendant (i.e., items 10 and 44), and one item concerned the suspects' doubts about being allowed to go home after having made the confession to the police (item 1).

(5) *Legal Rights*. Three items loaded saliently on this factor and relate to the explaining and understanding of the suspects' legal rights during the interrogations (items 19, 20, and 21).

(6) *Resistance*. Six items had salient loadings on this factor. The two items (15 and 27) that have the highest loading on this factor are related to initial unwillingness to confess to the police and denial. The reluctance to confess appears to have been associated with the avoidance of the consequences (item 40) and the eventual confession resulting from police pressure (item 7) and due to a co-defendant implicating them (item 45). The other item that loaded saliently on this factor was related to minimising their involvement in the offence (item 41).

The first three factors, *External Pressure*, *Internal Pressure* and *Perception of Proof*, are facilitative factors in the sense that they increase the likelihood that suspects will confess. The *Resistance* factor, in contrast, is associated with great initial reluctance of suspects to confess. The *Drug Intoxication* factor makes the confession more complicated, because of drug intoxication and the involvement of a co-defendant or another person the suspect is protecting by confessing to the police.

4.3.2. CORRELATION MATRIX BETWEEN THE GCQ-R FACTORS.

In order to investigate to what extent the six factors are related the factor scores were correlated by the use of Pearson correlation coefficients. Table 4.2 gives the correlation matrix between the six factors. Some of the factors were significantly correlated, but the correlations tended to be rather low, except between Factor 1, *External Pressure*, and Factor 6, *Resistance*.

Table 4.2. Correlations between the six GCQ-R factors.

The GCQ-R factors	Factor 1: <u>External</u> <u>Pressure</u> (N)	Factor 2: <u>Internal</u> <u>Pressure</u> (N)	Factor3: <u>Proof</u> (N)	Factor 4: <u>Drug</u> <u>Intoxication</u> (N)	Factor 5: <u>Legal</u> <u>Rights</u> (N)
Factor 2: <u>Internal Pressure</u>	0.22** (401)				
Factor 3: <u>Perception of Proof</u>	-0.03 (403)	-0.07 (405)			
Factor 4: <u>Drug Intoxication</u>	0.33** (403)	0.07 (405)	0.12* (407)		
Factor 5: <u>Legal Rights</u>	-0.31** (404)	-0.05 (405)	0.06 (407)	-0.19** (407)	
Factor 6: <u>Resistance</u>	0.62** (403)	0.12* (405)	0.01 (407)	0.41** (407)	-0.18** (407)

*p<0.05, **p<0.001. Two-tailed tests.

4.3.3. THE GCQ-R RELIABILITY.

To investigate the GCQ-R's internal-consistency reliability Cronbach alpha was computed for the six factors. Table 4.3 shows the reliability of the six GCQ-R factors. The factors' internal-consistency reliability ranged from 0.63 to 0.85. Cronbach alpha was highest for the two first factors, *External Pressure*, followed by *Internal Pressure* and lowest for the third factor, *Perception of Proof*. Test re-test reliability ranged from 0.84 to 0.94.

Table 4.3. Internal-consistency reliability and test re-test reliability of the six GCQ-R factors.

Gudjonsson Confession Questionnaire	Number of items	Cronbach alpha (N valid)	Item-total correlation	Average inter-item correlation	Test re-test reliability (N valid)
Factor 1: <u>External Pressure</u>	12	0.85 (404)	0.34-0.63	0.34	0.87* (53)
Factor 2: <u>Internal Pressure</u>	11	0.83 (406)	0.38-0.64	0.31	0.94* (53)
Factor 3: <u>Perception of Proof</u>	6	0.63 (408)	0.22-0.47	0.22	0.89* (52)
Factor 4: <u>Drug Intoxication</u>	6	0.70 (408)	0.27-0.56	0.29	0.90* (53)
Factor 5: <u>Legal Rights</u>	3	0.71 (409)	0.44-0.58	0.45	0.84* (53)
Factor 6: <u>Resistance</u>	6	0.75 (408)	0.35-0.63	0.33	0.90* (53)

p<0.001.

4.4. DISCUSSION.

The factor analysis of the revised version of the GCQ-R supports convincingly the results of previous studies using the questionnaire to investigate the reasons people give for having made a confession to the police (Gudjonsson and Petursson, 1991; Gudjonsson and Bownes, 1992; Sigurdsson and Gudjonsson, 1994). The first three factors are referred to as *External Pressure*, which relates to police pressure and fear during the interrogations and regrets having confessed, *Internal Pressure*, which relates to feelings of guilt during the interrogation and the need to confess, and *Perception of Proof*, which relates to the participants perceptions of the evidence against them. One important difference from the previous studies is that nearly all of the items (items 18, 28, 31, 32, and 38), which made up the *Inhibitory* factor in the previous studies on the unrevised GCQ loaded significantly on the *Internal pressure* factor. This indicates that the need to confess is associated with inhibition about confessing, which coincides with the findings from the

previous studies where a significant correlation was found between these two factors (i.e. the internal need to confess and inhibitory factors were significantly correlated). The content of the items from the inhibitory factor indicate that these relate to anxiety over the offence, feelings of shame and embarrassment, difficulties in accepting what they had done, and concern over being viewed as a criminal. In the current factor analysis the inhibitory factor is distinct from a 'resistance factor'. The 'resistance factor' is comprised of items which have to do with initial denial associated with the avoidance of the perceived personal and real consequences concerned with making self-incriminating admissions.

The GCQ-R was first used in the Sigurdsson and Gudjonsson (1994) study, where the main purpose was to investigate the possible effects of alcohol and drug intoxication on suspects' mental state and reasons for confession during custodial interrogation. Their findings indicated that the main effects of substance intoxication and withdrawal was to make the suspects feel confused, but this did not appear to make them feel that they were not coping with the demands of the police interview, nor did it seem to influence their reasons for making a confession. However, their results indicated a "prisoner's dilemma" factor, which provided an association between drug-taking and the need or desire to protect somebody else (e.g. co-defendants). This phenomenon is known in the social psychology literature (Luce and Raiffa, 1957; Brown, 1965) and it places an immense pressure on a suspect to confess before a co-defendant does. In the Sigurdsson and Gudjonsson (1994) study it was most commonly found among drug related offences, where there is typically more than one defendant involved in the crime. The present study, which in fact is an extension of the Sigurdsson and Gudjonsson (1994) study, also revealed a *Drug Intoxication* factor, which

relates to the participant's drug intoxication during the police interviews and at the time of the offence, as well as to the involvement of a co-defendant.

In the present study only two items were left out from the analysis as they were only filled in by a small number of participants. The analysis included however, the three items relating to the suspect's legal rights during the interrogation, which were left out in the previous studies into the GCQ. Two additional factors were found in the present study, a *Legal Rights* factor, which relates to the understanding of the participant's legal rights during the interrogations, and a *Resistance* factor, which relates to the participant's perceived resistance to confess during the police interrogation. The *Resistance* factor indicates that some suspects tried hard to resist making admissions to the police, but eventually broke down and confessed. This factor appeared to correlate highly with *External Pressure* and one possible interpretation of this significant relationship is that where suspects are resistant to confess, more external pressure is required to break down their resistance (Gudjonsson, 1989b).

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate claimed false confessions, the participants who claim to have made them and the reasons they give for having made them. Although the GCQ was originally constructed to assess the reasons suspects give for having confessed to offences they have committed, the six factors of the GCQ-R all seem to be quite relevant in studying the reasons people give for having confessed to offences they claim not to have committed. The second main purpose of the present study was to investigate the GCQ-R's reliability. This is the first study to do so and the results indicate that the revised version is a reliable instrument, both regarding internal consistency reliability and test re-test reliability.

5. CLAIMED FALSE CONFESSIONS IN ICELAND

5.1. INTRODUCTION TO STUDIES OF FALSE CONFESSIONS.

In this chapter six independent studies of claimed false confessions among Icelandic prison inmates and juvenile offenders are described. The Icelandic offenders who claimed to have made a false confession to the police sometime in their life were investigated and they were compared with the other participants in the study on various psychological, criminological and drug related variables. In addition the nature and circumstances of the claimed false confessions were investigated. The general methodology for the research was described in detail in Chapter 3, but some variations, such as the sample size, will be described in each part where relevant.

Chapter 5.2 is about the frequency and nature of claimed false confessions among the two groups of offenders, prison inmates and juvenile offenders. In Chapter 5.3 the psychological characteristics of the claimed false confessors were investigated and compared with that of the other inmates. This study was extended over a longer period, which gave an additional number of reported false confessions. Using this same sample the third study, which is described in Chapter 5.4, looked at the participants' self-reported substance use. In Chapter 5.5 the criminal history of the participants was investigated and 56 claimed false confessors were compared with the other prison inmates. Using all newly admitted prisoners over a period of time gave a representative sample of Icelandic prison inmates.

Chapter 5.6 investigated the relative importance of the psychological, criminological and substance use variables in differentiating between the claimed false confessors and the other prison inmates. That is, it attempted to find out which variables discriminated most significantly between the claimed false confessors and the other prison inmates, using discriminant analysis. The final study, which is described in Chapter 5.7, investigated the reasons the participants gave for having confessed to the police, falsely or not, using the revised version of the Gudjonsson Confession Questionnaire (GCQ-R) (Sigurdsson and Gudjonsson, 1994; see also Chapters 3 and 4).

As far as statistical analyses are concerned, both parametric and non-parametric tests were used as appropriate. When Chi-square tests were used, *Yate's correction for continuity* was used when the degree of freedom (df) was 1 and any expected cell frequency was less than 10 (Guildford, 1965).

5.2. THE FREQUENCY AND NATURE OF CLAIMED FALSE CONFESSIONS.

5.2.1. INTRODUCTION.

This is an extension of the pilot study into the frequency, nature and circumstances of false confessions by Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson (1994), which investigated all new admissions to the Icelandic prisons over the period of one year. Out of 229 prison inmates who participated in that study, 27 (12%) claimed to have made a false confession during a police interview sometime in their life. This comprised 23 (11%) of the 216 male inmates and four (31%) of the thirteen female prisoners.

In the present study the sample of prison inmates was more than doubled and over one hundred juvenile offenders were investigated as well. The juvenile offenders had all been given a conditional discharge with the condition of attending supervision sessions at the Prison and Probation Administration where they were approached over approximately a one year period. None of the participants in the juvenile offender sample reported having made a false confession to the police, therefore none of the assessment findings are reported in this thesis.

The purpose of the present study was to investigate further, among two groups of Icelandic offenders, prison inmates and juvenile offenders, how many claim to have made a false confession during a police interview sometime in their life, the reasons they give for having made the false confession and the circumstances under which it was made. The reasons for studying a sample of Icelandic prison inmates are fully stated in Chapter 1, but the main reason was that an entire population of prisoners could be assessed, rather than a selected group of sentenced offenders.

The following hypotheses, which are mainly based on the pilot study (Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson, 1994), were tested in this study:

1. False confessions will be quite commonly claimed among sentenced offenders, even when the confession is not retracted or disputed at their trial. This is the main hypothesis and it was expected that the 12 percent figure from the Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson (1994) study would be matched.
2. Among prison inmates, females will more frequently claim to have made a false confession to the police than males.

3. The most common type of offence falsely confessed to will be property offences, followed by serious traffic violation.
4. The claimed false confessors will give two main reasons for having made the false confession to the police, that is, protecting somebody else and police pressure or/and avoidance of custody.

5.2.2. METHODS.

5.2.2.1. PARTICIPANTS.

A sample of 501 prison inmates was approached in this study and 481 (96%) agreed to participate. The mean age of the 481 participants was 30.5 (s.d.=9.6, range 16-67) and 451 (94%) of them were male and 30 (6%) female.

None of the juvenile offenders stated that they had made a false confession to the police and they fully admitted the offence to which they had pleaded guilty.

5.2.2.2. PROCEDURE.

All new admissions to the Icelandic prisons over a period of over four years were asked to participate (steps 1 to 3 in procedure, Chapter 3), which gave a representative sample of all sentenced Icelandic prison inmates. The 28 inmates approached in the last step of the project (step four) were excluded from this study, which reduced the number of claimed false confessions from 62 to 56.

All the participants were asked whether they had at some point in their life confessed to the police to an offence, which they had not committed. If they claimed they had, then they were asked a number of questions relating to the false confession, its nature and circumstances, and whether they had made other false confessions to the police. In cases of more than one false confession the main offence they presented was chosen for the analysis in the study.

The data for the false confessions is not complete for all the participants. At the beginning of the project, false confession was not the primary issue to be investigated, so the author did not ask for detailed description of the false confessions which were reported. It soon became evident that a substantial proportion of the prison inmates reported having made a false confession to the police sometime in their life and that the majority of them, although not all, were willing to give the author detailed information about the claimed false confession. Therefore, false confession became a major theme of the project and more information about the false confession incidents was needed. Many of the participants who had already been interviewed by the author were approached for further questioning, either while still in prison or if they were admitted again to prison during the research period.

5.2.3. RESULTS.

5.2.3.1. FREQUENCY AND TIME OF FALSE CONFESSION.

Out of the 481 prison inmates whose responses were analysed in this study, 56 (12%) claimed to have made a false confession during a police interview. This comprised 49 (11%) males and seven

(24%) females. The females more frequently reported having made a false confession to the police, but the difference was not quite significant ($\text{Chi}^2 = 3.44$, $\text{df}=1$, $P = 0.0637$).

Table 5.1 gives the number of participants who reported having confessed falsely to the police on one or more occasions. Four participants did not report whether they had made more than one false confession and nine participants said it had happened frequently in their life, without being able to recall certain incidents or because they were reluctant to give the author the detailed information.

Table 5.1. The number of participants reporting false confessions.

Number of times made a false confession	Males	Females	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Once	29 (59)	4 (57)	33 (59)
Twice	7 (14)	1 (14)	8 (14)
Three to five times	2 (4)	0 (0)	2 (4)
Often (unspecified)	8 (17)	1 (14)	9 (16)
Don't know*	3 (6)	1 (14)	4 (7)
Total	49 (100)	7 (99)	56 (100)

*Four participants did not report whether they had made more than one false confession.

The total number of reported stories of false confessions among the 56 participants was 74. The vignettes for the 74 stories are given in Appendix III along with further six vignettes from an additional six claimed false confessions.

Figure 5.1 shows the age of the participants when the first or only false confession was made. The majority of the participants (64%) claimed to have made the false confession when under the age of 21 years. Three of the participants did not report their age when the false confession was made. The mean age, calculated for the 53 participants, who reported their age when the false confession was made (the first time for those who claimed to have confessed falsely more than once) was 20.8 years (s.d.=6.1, range 11 to 37 years). About half, or 27 (51%), of the participants reported having made the false confession when aged between 16 to 20 years.

Figure 5.1. The age of the participants when the first (or only) claimed false confession was made.

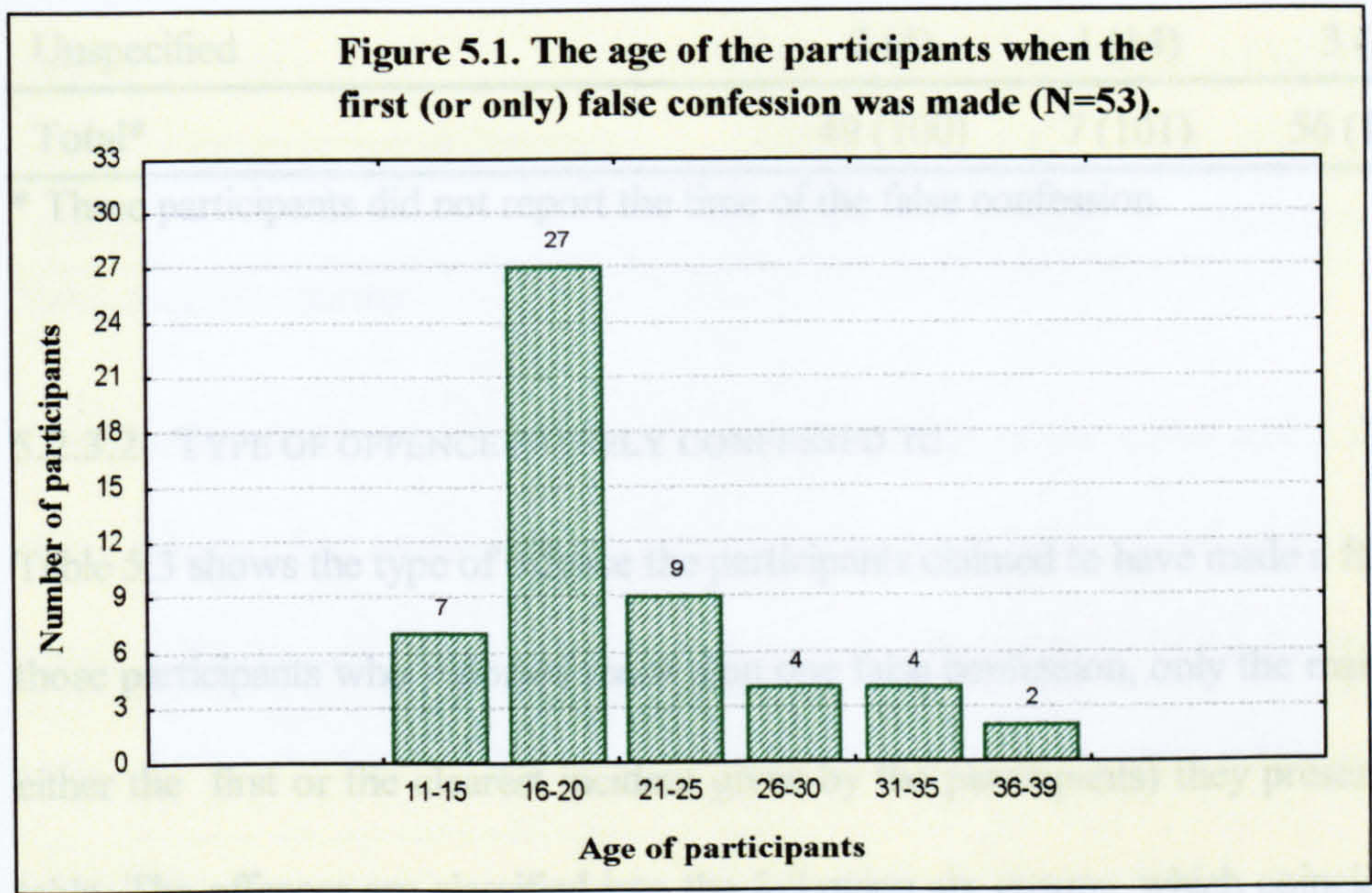


Table 5.2 gives the number of years since the (first or only) false confession was made. Twenty-six (49%) of the 53 participants, who reported the time of the false confession, had made a relatively recent false confession, five (9%) participants had made the false confession in the ‘current year’

and further 21 (40%) in the previous five years. The claimed false confession was made on average 7.0 (s.d.=6.1, range 0 to 23) years before the participants were interviewed by the author.

Table 5.2. The number of years since the false confession was made.

Time period	Males	Females	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
The ‘current’ year	5 (10)	0 (0)	5 (9)
One to five years previously	19 (39)	2 (29)	21 (38)
Six to ten years previously	11 (23)	2 (29)	13 (23)
Eleven to fifteen years previously	9 (18)	2 (29)	11 (20)
Sixteen to twenty four years previously	3 (6)	0 (0)	3 (5)
Unspecified	2 (4)	1 (14)	3 (5)
Total*	49 (100)	7 (101)	56 (100)

* Three participants did not report the time of the false confession.

5.2.3.2. TYPE OF OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO.

Table 5.3 shows the type of offence the participants claimed to have made a false confession to. For those participants who reported more than one false confession, only the main offence (which was either the first or the clearest incident given by the participants) they presented is included in the table. The offences are classified into the following six groups, which coincides with the Icelandic legal classification. The one exception is the violent offences, which include one confession to murder in addition to the three physical assaults reported. The only sexual offence is an offence of unlawful sexual intercourse and the ‘other offences’ category includes three offences of criminal damage and one offence of firesetting. The most common types of offence falsely confessed to

were property offences (59%) (i.e., theft, burglary, and forgery), followed by serious traffic violations (20%) (i.e., drunken driving, driving while disqualified, and take and drive away offences).

Table 5.3. False confession classified according to gender and type of offence.

Type of offence	Males	Females	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Property offences	29 (59)	4 (57)	33 (59)
Serious traffic violations	10 (21)	1 (14)	11 (20)
Violent offences*	4 (8)	0 (0)	4 (7)
Drug offences	1 (2)	2 (29)	3 (5)
Sexual offences	1 (2)	0 (0)	1 (2)
Other offences (criminal damage)	4 (8)	0 (0)	4 (7)
Total	49 (100)	7 (100)	56 (100)

*Including one murder.

Twenty-nine (52%) of the false confessors, 24 (52%) of the males and 5 (83%) of the females, stated that they had confessed falsely to the police when being questioned in connection with other offences. Twenty-six (46%), 23 (47%) of the males and 3 (43%) of the females, said that they were sentenced for the false confession offence together with some other offences which they had truly committed.

Three of the participants, two females and one male, which is less than 1% of the total number of participants, claimed to have made a false confession with regard to the offence for which they were currently serving a prison sentence. This represents five per cent of the 56 false confessors.

The remaining false confessions were with regard to interrogations conducted previously and some of these dated back several years.

5.2.3.3. REASONS FOR MAKING THE FALSE CONFESSION.

The reasons that the prisoners gave for having made a false confession to the police are given in Table 5.4. The single most common reason given was protecting somebody else (50%), followed by police pressure (48%) and avoidance of police detention (42%). As shown in Figure 5.2 there was some overlap between police pressure, avoidance of custody, and protecting somebody else. For example, 15 (27%) of the false confessors claimed to have made a false confession to the police due to both police pressure and avoidance of custody. In contrast, seven (25%) participants who reported protecting somebody else also claimed police pressure or avoidance of custody for having made the false confession. Only two participants claimed that they had confessed falsely in order to protect the real culprit because he had threatened them.

Table 5.4. The reasons that the participants gave for having made a false confession to the police.

Reason for confessing†	Males	Females	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Protecting somebody else	22 (45)	6 (86)	28 (50)
Police pressure	23 (50)	2 (33)	25 (48)
Avoidance of police detention	22 (48)	0 (0)	22 (42)

†There was some overlap between the three reasons as discussed in the text.

Six (86%) of the females and 22 (45%) of the males claimed to have made a false confession in order to protect somebody else. This difference was not significant. The most marked difference between the male and female false confessors, was in relation to escape from custody. None of the females claimed to have confessed in order to escape custody, in contrast, 47 per cent of the males fell into this category. This difference was not quite significant ($\chi^2=3.21$, $df=1$, $p=0.0733$).

Figure 5.2. A graphical description of the reasons the participants gave for having made the false confessions.

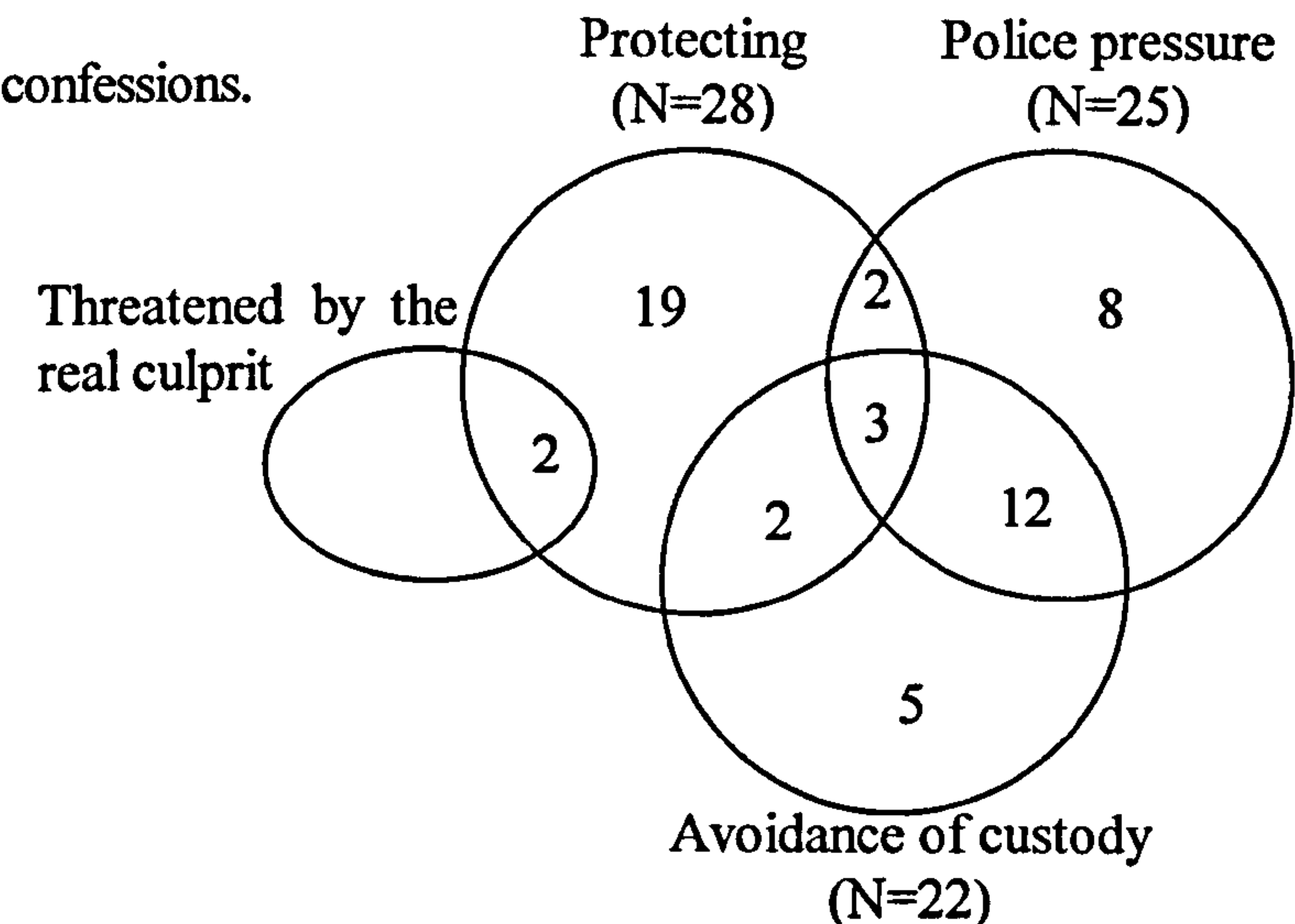


Table 5.5 shows who the false confessor was protecting. Most commonly (60%) the false confessor was protecting a friend, which was followed by 18 per cent who were protecting a relative. Four of the five participants who made a false confession in order to cover up for a relative were protecting a brother. The sixth participant was protecting her sister and father.

Table 5.5. The person the false confessor was protecting according to gender of the participants.

Type of person	Males	Females	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Friend/peer	15 (68)	2 (33)	17 (60)
Relative	4 (18)	1 (17)	5 (18)
Fiancée/spouse	1 (5)	2 (33)	3 (11)
Some other person	2 (9)	1 (17)	3 (11)
Total	22 (100)	6 (100)	28 (100)

5.2.3.4. TYPE OF FALSE CONFESSION.

In Table 5.6 the false confessions are classified according to the psychological model of Kassin and Wrightsman (1985). Twenty (36%) of the false confessors claimed to have made the false confession in the absence of any external pressure, all of them except one, in order to protect another person. The exception was a man who claimed to have been taking his revenge out on the police because he was arrested for a minor forgery and detained one evening at a police station. This participant, made a *voluntary* false confession to murder and was as a result subsequently charged with wasting police time. Only three of the false confessors (0.5% of the false confessors) went voluntarily to the police station. All three were males and claimed to have made a false confession to protect a friend who had committed serious driving violations.

Table 5.6. The false confessions classified into *voluntary*, *coerced-compliant* and *coerced-internalised* false confessions.

Type of false confession	Males	Females	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
<i>Voluntary</i>	15 (31)	5 (71)	20 (36)
<i>Coerced-compliant</i>	26 (53)	2 (29)	28 (50)
<i>Coerced-internalised</i>	8 (16)	0 (0)	8 (14)
Total	49 (100)	7 (100)	56(100)

Half (50%) of the group claimed to have made a *coerced-compliant* type of false confession, but only eight participants, and all of them males, claimed to have made a false confession to an offence which the police persuaded them that they had committed while they were intoxicated, in spite of having no memory of having committed it. These were classified as *coerced-internalised* false confessions. A Chi-square test indicated no significant difference in the type of false confession between males and females ($\text{Chi}^2=4.73$, $\text{df}=2$, $p=0.0938$), although there is a trend for the females to more commonly give the *voluntary* type of false confession, 31 versus 71 percent of males.

5.2.3.5. RETRACTING THE FALSE CONFESSION.

Fifty-four of the false confessors gave information about whether or not they had retracted the confession. Sixteen (30%) claimed to have subsequently retracted the confession and later the author learned from court papers that the seventeenth participant had also retracted his false confession. Fifteen (31%) of the male false confessors and two (29%) of the females claimed to have retracted the false confession. This difference is not significant. The reason the 37 (69%)

remaining participants gave for not having retracted the false confession was that they saw no point in doing so. Most frequently (62%) their intention had been to protect a person who was important to them, and this was generally still true when the case came to court, or that they thought they would still be convicted even if they were to retract the confession.

The 28 participants who had made a false confession in order to protect somebody else (see Table 5.5) were less likely to have retracted the confession than the other false confessors ($\chi^2=5.88$, $df = 1$, $P<0.05$). Fourteen of the 17 participants who retracted the false confession reported their reason for making the false confession and only three said that they had been protecting somebody else, but 11 said that they confessed because of police pressure or avoidance of custody. The reasons given were not mutually exclusive, since seven participants claimed they confessed falsely both because of police pressure and avoidance of custody and one participant said he made a false confession in order to protect someone else and also because of police pressure.

5.2.3.6. CONVICTIONS FOR THE FALSE CONFESSION OFFENCE.

Table 5.7 describes the number of participants who claimed to have been convicted of the offence they falsely confessed to. Out of the 56 participants who reported a false confession, 40 (72%) claimed to have been convicted of the offence in question. This involved 29 (78%) cases where no retraction had taken place and nine (53%) cases which were retracted (there was missing data for three participants).

Table 5.7. The number of participants who claimed to have been convicted for the false confession.

	Males	Females	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Convicted	34 (69)	6 (86)	40 (72)
Not convicted	12 (25)	1 (14)	13 (23)
Not known	3 (6)	0 (0)	3 (5)

5.2.4. DISCUSSION.

The findings in this study indicate that the reporting of having made a false confession to the police is common among Icelandic prison inmates, with 12 per cent of the participants claiming to have made a false confession sometime in their life. The current 12 per cent figure is identical to that found in the pilot study by Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson (1994), for 229 Icelandic prison inmates, which indicates that the proportion of inmates who report having made a false confession is remarkably consistent after the sample size had more than doubled. It should be emphasised that the participants were not seeking any assistance from the author to prove their innocence and they had apparently nothing to gain from lying to the author about having made a false confession.

The great majority (95%) of these false confessions had nothing to do with the offences for which they were currently serving a prison sentence. Indeed, many of them were associated with interrogations conducted some years previously. It seems from the present study that a very small proportion of Icelandic prisoners (<1%) are currently serving a sentence for an offence they claim

they did not commit. The three inmates for whom this applied had also been convicted and sentenced consecutively for other similar offences.

In contrast to the prison inmates, none of the juvenile offenders reported having made a false confession to the police. This marked group difference was unexpected, particularly in view of the study of Richardson (1991) where it was found that a substantial proportion of residential adolescent delinquents in England claimed to have made a false confession to the police. However, the background of the juveniles in Richardson's sample may resemble more the background of convicted prisoners rather than being representative of first time juvenile offenders. The findings in the present study indicate that making a false confession among Icelandic offenders is common among prison inmates, but it may be very rare among first offenders in Iceland and a much larger sample of first time offenders may be required in order to find any such cases. The juveniles in the present study do not comprise a representative group of Icelandic juvenile offenders. These juveniles had all pleaded guilty to a minor offence and for the great majority it was their first offence. They were all given a conditional discharge with the condition of attending supervision sessions at the PPA where they were approached to participate in the study. Many of the prison inmates reported that their false confession had happened when they were juveniles but many stated that they were at the time actively involved in delinquency. In the present study, the most common age group for making a false confession was between 16 and 20 years, which indicates that some youngsters are particularly vulnerable, under certain circumstances, to making a false confession.

In the Richardson study of juveniles the main motive was to protect a peer or a friend. This motive was also clearly evident in the present study, with half (50%) of the inmates claiming that they had made a false confession in order to protect somebody else, typically someone important to them, from being arrested and prosecuted. Among juveniles, peer loyalty may be particularly powerful in motivating them to make a false confession, for example where younger juveniles admit to offences committed by older ones in order to protect the latter from a possibly severe sentence or because the younger juveniles fear the older ones if they tell on them.

When classified into psychological types according to the model of Kassin and Wrightsman (1985) half (50%) of the participants appeared to have made a *coerced-compliant* type of false confession, but only a small minority (14%) were consistent with *coerced-internalised* false confession. Only three of the participants went voluntarily to the police to make a false confession, but nevertheless, 36% of the false confessions were classified as *voluntary* since the participants' motive to falsely confess was to protect somebody else, in all but one of the cases, rather than giving in to perceived police pressure. All of the participants who reported a *voluntary* false confession, except the three who went voluntarily to the police, made the false confession after having already been arrested for either the false confession offence or some other offence they had truly committed. In the present study there was a considerable overlap between the reasons the participants gave for having made the false confession, which supports the argument of Gudjonsson (1992b) that false confessions typically result from a combination of factors rather than from a single reason.

Only about one third (31%) of the participants claimed to have retracted the false confession, most commonly those who had experienced police pressure or said that they were avoiding custody to confess, but less so where the motive had been to protect a significant other. The present findings indicate that when the suspect confessed to an offence he did not commit, it is not retracted in about two thirds of cases. This appears to be particularly true where the primary motive for the false confession was to protect somebody else from prosecution. Retracting the confession might result in the 'significant other' (i.e., the real culprit) being arrested and prosecuted, which the suspect is likely to wish to avoid. Even when the false confession resulted from perceived police pressure and/or wanting to avoid custody, it was only retracted in about one third of cases. The main reason for not having retracted the false confession caused by police or custodial pressure seemed to be that the suspects saw no point in retracting it as they thought they would still be convicted or that they just accepted wrongful conviction as a matter of course.

None of the differences between males and females regarding the frequency and nature of false confessions, which were investigated in the study, reached a statistical significance. Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson (1994), in their pilot study, found that female participants were more likely to report a false confession than the male participants, although the difference did not quite reach statistical significance. The present study revealed similar results when the number of participants had been more than doubled. This indicates a trend, which should be born in mind in future research. The number of females who claimed to have made a false confession was too small to give meaningful results.

The findings in the study give no indication about the frequency of false confessions during police interrogations in Iceland. All that can be concluded is that a high proportion of prison inmates claim to have made a false confession during a police interview sometime in their juvenile or adult life and the great majority never retracted it. The study highlights the risk of false confession during police interviewing, even within an inquisitorial system where there is a stringent corroboration requirement. Such cases, because they are so infrequently retracted, may go largely unnoticed by the judiciary.

5.3. EDUCATIONAL, OCCUPATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CLAIMED FALSE CONFESSORS.

5.3.1. INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this part of the study was to investigate the psychological characteristics and the educational and occupational background of the participants who claimed to have made a false confession to the police, and to compare these with those of the other participants (inmates).

The following hypotheses were tested:

1. The false confessors will have more deprived educational background (i.e. not finished compulsory education) than the other prison inmates.

2. The false confessors will score lower on the Standard Progressive Matrices than the other prison inmates and will have lower verbal memory score on the GSS 1.
3. The false confessors will be more suggestible, compliant, anxious (high neuroticism), and personality disordered (low Gough and high EPQ-P scores) than the other inmates.
4. The *coerced* (*compliant* and *internalised*) false confessor will be more anxious (high neuroticism), suggestible and compliant than the *voluntary* false confessors.
5. The *coerced-internalised* false confessors will differ from the *coerced-compliant* false confessors in that the former will have lower memory score on the GSS 1 and higher suggestibility and confabulation scores.

5.3.2. METHODS.

5.3.2.1. PARTICIPANTS.

The whole sample of 530 prison inmates was approached in this study and 509 (96%) agreed to participate. The mean age of the 509 participants was 30.8 (SD=9.6, range 16-69) and 466 (92%) of them were male and 43 (8%) female.

5.3.2.2. INSTRUMENTS AND PROCEDURE.

In addition to questions relating to the false confessions the following psychological tests were administered: (1) Eysenck Personality Questionnaire (EPQ) (Eysenck and Haraldsson, 1983; Haraldsson and Björnsson, 1985); (2) Gough Socialisation Scale (Gough, 1960; Megargee, 1972);

(3) Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale (GSS 1) (Gudjonsson, 1984; Haraldsson, 1985); (4) Gudjonsson Compliance Scale (GCS) (Gudjonsson, 1989a; Birgisson, 1989); (5) Self-Deception (SDQ) and Other-Deception (ODQ) Questionnaires (Sackeim and Gur, 1979); and (6) Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices (Raven, Court, and Raven, 1992). Detailed descriptions of these tests are given in Chapter 3 (Methodology).

Some of the participants did not complete all the tests relevant to the study, but all of them completed one or more of the tests. The number of missing cases concerning the various tests will be shown in the relevant tables.

All participants who completed the Standard Progressive Matrices were asked about their educational and occupational background. Concerning their educational background the participants were asked if they had completed compulsory education, which means that they left school at the age of 15 and had obtained the minimum grades necessary for further education.

With regard to occupational background the participants were asked about their most common occupation during their adult life. This method was chosen instead of asking them about their current occupation, because offenders in Iceland commonly work in many different areas in their life time and their current job only gives a partial insight into their occupational status.

5.3.3. RESULTS.

5.3.3.1. EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT.

Table 5.8 describes the participants’ educational background. Approximately half (53%) of the false confessors had completed compulsory education in contrast to 63 per cent of the other prisoners. Chi-square tests revealed no significant difference between the two groups in terms of obtaining further education ($\chi^2=1.46$, $df=1$, $p=0.2268$).

Table 5.8. The participants’ self-reported education.

	False confessors N (%)	Other participants N (%)
Not finished compulsory education	27 (47)	53 (37)
Finished compulsory education	18 (31)	38 (27)
Some further education	13 (22)	51 (36)
Total number of participants*	58 (100)	142 (100)

*This is the same group of participants as had finished the Raven’s Standard Progressive Matrices (see Table 5.10 and procedure in Chapter 3).

Table 5.9 gives the main occupation held by the participants in their adult life. Nearly two thirds (74%) of the false confessors and 61% of the other participants claimed that they had mostly been engaged with labouring or fisherman’s jobs in their life. Chi-square test revealed no significant difference between the false confessors and the other participants in terms of the four specified occupations ($\chi^2=4.87$, $df=3$, $p=0.1813$).

Table 5.9. The participants' most frequent self-reported occupation.

	False confessors	Other participants	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Unskilled worker (labourer)	25 (42)	54 (38)	79 (39)
Seaman (fisherman)	19 (32)	33 (23)	52 (26)
Shopkeeper's assistant (shopman)	10 (17)	31 (22)	41 (21)
Craftsman	1 (2)	12 (8.5)	13 (6)
Other	4 (7)	12 (8.5)	16 (8)
Total*	59 (100)	142 (100)	200 (100)

*The same group of participants as in table 5.8.

5.3.3.2. PSYCHOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Out of the 509 participants assessed, only two (0.04%) were illiterate and the questionnaires were read out to them. The literacy rate of the participants in the present study is very high in contrast to that found among English suspects (Gudjonsson, Clare, Rutter and Pearse, 1993).

Table 5.10 shows the mean, standard deviation score and t-test value of the psychological tests for the two groups of prison inmates. There were a number of significant differences between the two groups as predicted. Indications of personality disorder among the false confessors were evident by their low scores on the Gough Socialisation Scale and elevated scores on the EPQ Psychoticism Scale. No significant differences emerged between the groups with regard to suggestibility, intelligence and memory as was predicted, whereas the false confessors scored significantly higher on the GCS and EPQ Neuroticism Scale than the other participants. The false confessors also scored significantly lower on all three of the deception scales.

Table 5.10. Mean, standard deviation scores and t-tests of the psychological tests for those who claimed they had confessed falsely to the police and those who did not.

Psychological tests	False confessors Mean (SD) (N)	Other participants Mean (SD) (N)	t-value
Gough Socialisation Scale	23.3 (5.4) (62)	27.2 (6.2) (302)	-4.63***†
EPQ-Psychoticism	4.1 (2.5) (59)	3.1 (2.4) (150)	2.89**†
EPQ-Extraversion	12.7 (4.6) (59)	12.4 (4.6) (150)	0.43
EPQ-Neuroticism	14.8 (4.8) (59)	12.7 (5.6) (150)	2.45*†
EPQ-Lie	7.6 (4.3) (59)	9.3 (4.3) (150)	-2.8*
Other-Deception Questionnaire	8.6 (3.3) (62)	10.2 (4.2) (302)	-2.78**
Self-Deception Questionnaire	8.2 (3.1) (62)	9.8 (3.4) (302)	-3.49***
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	10.6 (3.1) (62)	9.4 (3.4) (298)	2.60**†
GSS1-Recall	16.7 (6.4) (60)	15.4 (6.1) (216)	1.41
GSS1-Yield1	4.4 (3.3) (60)	4.4 (2.9) (216)	-0.02
GSS1-Yield2	6.5 (3.6) (59)	6.7 (3.4) (213)	-0.48
GSS1-Shift	4.6 (3.0) (59)	5.0 (2.8) (213)	-0.88
GSS1-Total Suggestibility	9.1 (4.8) (59)	9.4 (4.5) (213)	-0.50
GSS1-Fabrication	0.7 (1.0) (60)	0.8 (0.9) (215)	-0.27
GSS1-Distortion	0.9 (0.8) (60)	1.0 (1.1) (215)	-1.08
GSS1-Total Confabulation (F+D)	1.6 (1.3) (60)	1.8 (1.6) (215)	-0.90
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	37.9 (9.7) (59)	38.7 (9.1) (142)	-0.59

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001; †one-tailed test.

5.3.3.3. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL TYPES OF FALSE CONFESSIONS.

Table 5.11 gives the participants' mean and standard deviation scores of the psychological tests according to the *voluntary* and the *coerced* (*compliant* and *internalised*) psychological types of false confession (Kassin and Wrightsman, 1985). There was only one significant difference between the two groups, that is, on the EPQ-Neuroticism scale (p<0.05, one-tailed test), where the *coerced*

false confessors scored significantly higher than the *voluntary* false confessors. This indicates that it is their anxiety proneness, which makes them susceptible to giving in to police pressure.

Table 5.11. Mean and standard deviation scores of the psychological tests for those who claimed they had made the *voluntary* and *coerced* (*compliant* and *internalised*) types of false confession to the police.

Psychological tests	Voluntary false confessors Mean (SD) (N)	Coerced false confessors Mean (SD) (N)	t-value
Gough Socialisation Scale	23.7 (6.1) (22)	23.1 (5.1) (40)	0.45
EPQ-Psychoticism	4.2 (2.2) (21)	4.1 (2.6) (38)	0.17
EPQ-Extraversion	12.4 (4.7) (21)	12.9 (4.5) (38)	0.37
EPQ-Neuroticism	13.3 (4.6) (21)	15.6 (4.9) (38)	-1.74*
EPQ-Lie	7.0 (4.7) (21)	7.9 (4.1) (38)	-0.70
Other-Deception Questionnaire	9.3 (2.7) (22)	8.3 (3.6) (40)	1.22
Self-Deception Questionnaire	8.1 (2.9) (22)	8.3 (3.3) (40)	-0.22
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	9.8 (3.2) (22)	11.1 (3.1) (40)	-1.50
GSS1-Recall	16.8 (5.9) (22)	16.6 (6.8) (38)	0.08
GSS1-Yield 1	4.3 (3.6) (22)	4.5 (3.2) (38)	-0.25
GSS1-Yield 2	5.8 (3.3) (22)	6.9 (3.7) (37)	-1.16
GSS1-Shift	3.9 (2.9) (22)	5.1 (3.0) (37)	-1.50
GSS1-Total Suggestibility	8.1 (5.0) (22)	9.7 (4.6) (37)	-1.20
GSS1-Fabrication	0.4 (0.5) (22)	0.9 (1.1) (38)	-1.94
GSS1-Distortion	0.8 (0.7) (22)	0.9 (0.9) (38)	-0.46
GSS1-Total Confabulation (F+D)	1.2 (0.9) (22)	1.8 (1.4) (38)	-1.77
Ravens Standard Progressive Matrices	39.9 (9.0) (21)	36.7 (9.9) (38)	1.21

*p<0.05 (One-tailed test).

A comparison was done between those false confessors who had a full memory of the false confession, that is, the 52 (84%) *voluntary* and the *coerced-compliant* false confessors, and those

who had a false belief of what had happened, that is, the ten (16%) *coerced-internalised* false confessors. The ten *coerced-internalised* false confessors were all male. In view of the small number of participants in the *coerced-internalised* group, a Mann-Whitney U test was used instead of a t-test in the statistical analyses. Table 5.12 describes the results, which show that only the GSS 1 and the EPQ-Extraversion were able to discriminate significantly between the two groups. No significant difference was found between the two groups in memory recall, but the *coerced-internalised* false confessors obtained significantly higher scores on Yield 1, Total Suggestibility, and confabulation, all significant at the 5% level.

Table 5.12. Mann-Whitney U Test on the differences between the *coerced-internalised* and other false confessors on the psychological tests.

Psychological tests	<i>Coerced-internalised</i> false confessors Mean (SD) (N)	Other false confessors Mean (SD) (N)	Z-score
Gough Socialisation Scale	24.3 (4.9) (10)	23.1 (5.5) (51)	-0.91
EPQ-Psychoticism	3.4 (2.4) (9)	4.2 (2.5) (50)	-0.77
EPQ-Extraversion	15.6 (3.7) (9)	12.2 (4.6) (50)	-2.03!
EPQ-Neuroticism	14.2 (3.7) (9)	14.9 (5.0) (50)	-0.22
EPQ-Lie	7.9 (2.8) (9)	7.5 (4.5) (50)	-0.44
Other-Deception Questionnaire	8.4 (3.3) (10)	8.7 (3.3) (52)	-0.32
Self-Deception Questionnaire	8.1 (3.2) (10)	8.2 (3.1) (52)	-0.06
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	11.5 (3.1) (10)	10.4 (3.1) (52)	-1.04
GSS1-Recall	18.1 (6.2) (9)	16.4 (6.5) (51)	-0.89
GSS1-Yield 1	5.9 (2.8) (9)	4.2 (3.4) (51)	-1.83*
GSS1-Yield 2	8.1 (4.4) (8)	6.2 (3.4) (51)	-1.26
GSS1-Shift	5.5 (2.8) (8)	4.5 (3.0) (51)	-1.06
GSS1-Total Suggestibility	12.1 (3.3) (8)	8.6 (4.8) (51)	-2.11*
GSS1-Fabrication	1.2 (1.2) (9)	0.6 (0.9) (51)	-1.42
GSS1-Distortion	1.2 (1.1) (9)	0.8 (0.8) (51)	-1.00
GSS1-Total Confabulation (F+D)	2.4 (1.3) (9)	1.5 (1.2) (51)	-2.15*
Ravens Standard Progressive Matrices	35.0 (10.4) (9)	38.4 (9.5) (50)	-0.92

*p<0.05 (One-tailed test), !p<0.05 (Two-tailed test).

5.3.4. DISCUSSION.

The findings reveal a number of significant differences in the personality of the claimed false confessors and other prison inmates. The most important finding is that false confessors appear to show more antisocial personality characteristics. There could be a number of reasons for this. First, people with antisocial personality characteristics may act more impulsively when interviewed by the police, which may interfere with the decision making process. Secondly, they may be less

concerned and fearful about the legal consequences of making a false confession. For example, several of the false confessors in the present study openly expressed the view that they were not particularly bothered by the fact that they had made a false confession. They appeared to view it as a trivial matter (i.e., “it’s no big deal”) where lying to the police and interfering with the course of justice was not seen as a serious matter. It may also be important that many of the false confessors were at the time actively involved in crime and were being interviewed by the police about other offences (Chapter 5.2). Thirdly, the consequences of making a false confession in order to protect somebody else may enhance the self-esteem of some personality disordered people along the lines discussed by Gudjonsson (1992a).

The findings that the ODQ and SDQ scores among the claimed false confessors were significantly lower than the scores among the other prison inmates are interesting. Normally high social desirability is thought to be associated with eagerness to please and such a state of mind may make some suspects susceptible, under certain circumstances, to making a false confession (i.e. the suspect is trying to ingratiate himself with the police officer interviewing him and therefore goes along with the suggestions offered and requests made). In contrast, in the present study, the low ODQ and SDQ scores may be a feature of the sample studied and the nature of their false confession. That is, the low deception scores possibly reflect their extensive criminal background and the extent to which they are indifferent to what others think of them. Their false confession may be a feature of this indifference to what other people think.

The finding that intelligence and suggestibility did not discriminate between the two groups merits some discussion. Persons of low intellectual abilities are often seen as being psychologically

vulnerable during police interviewing (Irving and Hilgendorf, 1980; Gudjonsson, 1992a; Gudjonsson et al., 1993; Home Office, 1995). The numerous reasons for this have recently been discussed in detail by Clare and Gudjonsson (1995). These include difficulties in understanding the questions asked, not appreciating the consequences of making a false confession, and enhanced suggestibility, acquiescence and compliance. Almost all the participants in this study were fully literate and the false confessors had a similar educational and employment background to the other participants.

The only significant difference that was found between the *voluntary* and the *coerced (compliant and internalised)* false confessors, was anxiety proneness as measured by the EPQ-Neuroticism scale. This indicates, as was hypothesised, that the *coerced* false confessors, as a group, were more emotionally labile than the *voluntary* false confessors and therefore more likely to experience stress during police interrogation. The *coerced-internalised* false confessors appeared to be most different to the other two groups. This small subgroup of participants is of particular theoretical interest (Gudjonsson, 1992a) and appears to be different to the other false confessors in terms of their suggestibility and confabulation scores as measured by the GSS 1 as well as extraversion as measured by the EPQ-Extraversion Scale. The findings suggest that suggestibility and a tendency to confabulate are psychological factors that may make some participants vulnerable to making a *coerced-internalised* false confession during police interviewing. This finding is particularly important in that the *coerced-internalised* false confessors did not differ from the other participants in terms of the verbal memory in the GSS 1 or intelligence as measured by the Standard Progressive Matrices. Therefore, their elevated suggestibility score is not an artefact of impaired memory or low intelligence. It is also of interest that none of the other psychological tests were able

to differentiate the *coerced-internalised* from the other false confessors. Suggestibility, possibly in combination with a 'memory distrust syndrome' (Gudjonsson and MacKeith, 1982), may be the most important psychological variable that makes some people vulnerable to making a *coerced-internalised* false confession.

The *coerced-internalised* false confessors elevated extraversion scores on the EPQ can be difficult to interpret, but it may be related to their alcohol use. With the exception of one participant, all claimed to have been heavily intoxicated (and three of them also reported being under the influence of illicit drugs) at the time of the offence which they claimed to have falsely confessed to. It seems that these false confessors had little or no memory of what they were doing at the time of the offence and during the interrogation they came to believe that they had committed the offence. Although a significant relationship has been found between introversion and alcohol and drug dependency (Rankin, Stockwell and Hodgeson, 1982; Lodhi and Thakur, 1993), alcohol related offending has been associated with high levels of extraversion scores (Cookson, 1994). Extraverts may be more commonly intoxicated when offending and therefore more susceptible to believing that they were responsible for the offence, which they were suspected of having committed. Another possible explanation is that extraverts tend to talk more and may therefore be more likely to incriminate themselves when having poor memory of what they were doing. Their openness and sociability, in combination with a 'memory distrust syndrome' may have influenced the interaction between them and the police during the interrogation, which resulted in their decision to confess, in spite of their having no memory of the offence.

The findings in the present study support Gudjonsson's (1992c) argument that false confessions are typically due to a combination of factors and represent a heterogeneous group of people. Even though antisocial personality characteristics, neuroticism and compliance appear to be the most important factors in the present study that differentiated claimed false confessors from other prison inmates, there may be a number of subgroups within false confessions where other psychological vulnerabilities are of paramount importance (Clare and Gudjonsson, 1995, Pearse, Gudjonsson, Clare and Rutter, 1998). The sample studied in this thesis is a selected group of offenders and it is unwise to generalise too much about false confessions in other groups and settings.

5.4. ILLICIT DRUG USE AMONG THE CLAIMED FALSE CONFESSORS.

5.4.1. INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the differences between the false confessors and the other participants with regard to drug use and addiction. This was done in view of the fact that personality disorder appeared to be the most significant discriminator in terms of personality characteristics between the false confessors and the other prison inmates (Chapter 5.2) and because drug addiction is significantly associated with personality disorder (Sutker and Allain, 1988; Sigurdsson and Gudjonsson, 1995b). Therefore, the false confessors are more likely to have a history of illicit drug use and dependence than the other prison inmates in the study.

The following hypotheses were tested in this study:

1. The claimed false confessors will report more frequent substance use than the other participants.
2. The claimed false confessors will be more likely to report serious drug abuse problems than the other participants, including more frequent intravenous drug use (IVDU).

5.4.2. METHODS.

5.4.2.1. PARTICIPANTS.

The whole sample of 509 prison inmates were participants in this study.

5.4.2.2. INSTRUMENTS.

All the participants who agreed to co-operate with the study filled in the Substance Abuse Questionnaire (SAQ) and for the purpose of the present study the “addiction scale” from the EPQ (Gossop and Eysenck, 1980) was used as a personality measure of drug dependency.

5.4.3. RESULTS.

Table 5.13 shows the number of false confessors and other participants who reported frequent alcohol use (weekly or more frequently), using illicit drugs sometime in their lives, and the use of cannabis, amphetamine, cocaine and ‘some other’ illicit drug, as well as IVDU. The differences between the groups are highly significant for all the variables except for frequent alcohol use.

Table 5.13. Chi-square tests on the difference between the false confessors and the other participants on questions about frequent alcohol use (at least weekly), illicit drug use and IVDU.

	False confessors (N=62)	Other participants (N=445)	Chi ² -value (df=1)
	N (%)	N (%)	
Frequent alcohol use	26 (43)	137 (31)	2.92
Any illicit drug use	53 (87)	288 (65)	11.01**
Cannabis	49 (82)	270 (61)	9.13*
Amphetamine	45 (74)	201 (45)	16.44**
Cocaine	30 (49)	116 (26)	12.77**
‘Some other’ illicit drug†	39 (64)	128 (29)	28.44**
IVDU	24 (39)	78 (18)	13.90**

*p<0.01, **p<0.001. † The illicit drug, apart from cannabis, amphetamine and cocaine, used most frequently (e.g. sedatives, hallucinatives).

Using the criteria of drug dependency, which is described in Chapter 3, fifteen (25%) of the false confessors were classified as dependent on drugs in contrast to only 45 (10%) of the other participants (Chi²=9.42, df=1, p<0.01). The false confessors also scored significantly higher on the EPQ-Addiction Scale with a mean score of 16.8 (SD=5.4) whereas the other participants’ mean score was 14.1 (SD=5.5) (t-value=3.26, df=207, p<0.01).

Eleven (73%) of the 15 participants who were classified as dependent said that they had made the false confession in order to protect someone else in contrast to 19 (41%) of the 46 who did not fall under the definition of drug dependency. This difference was not quite significant when Yate’s correction was used (Chi²=3.44, df=1, p=0.0633).

Forty-one (67%) of the false confessors and 234 (53%) of the other participants said that they had started an in-patient substance abuse treatment at least once. This difference was significant ($\chi^2=4.06$, $df=1$, $p<0.05$). Twenty-eight (46%) of the false confessors and 177 (40%) of the other participants reported having finished at least one six weeks in-patient substance abuse treatment. This difference was not significant.

Thirty-six (59%) of the false confessors and 177 (40%) of the other participants admitted that they had problems with alcohol and 25 (41%) of the false confessors and 111 (25%) of the other participants admitted drug abuse problems. These differences were significant ($\chi^2=7.38$, $df=1$, $p<0.01$, and $\chi^2=6.23$, $df=1$, $p<0.05$, respectively).

5.4.4. DISCUSSION.

Instead of directly investigating the mental state of suspects who are interrogated while under the influence of illicit drugs and how that might influence their ability to cope, the present study investigated the relationship between drug addiction and the reporting of false confession.

The findings reveal a number of highly significant differences in drug use and drug use problems between the false confessors and the other prison inmates. The results indicate that the false confessors have much greater problems with illicit drugs than the other participants do or that they are more willing to admit their substance abuse problems. Nearly half of them said that they had completed at least one six weeks in-patient substance abuse treatment, which is in Iceland based on

the medical model of alcoholism and addiction, as well as on a strong Alcoholic Anonymous tradition. Attending such a treatment may train people in admitting their substance abuse problems, especially in a safe environment as in an interview with a psychologist.

There was a significant difference between the groups in reported use of all the illicit substances asked about in the study. The difference was more marked for the 'harder' drugs, amphetamine, cocaine, and the 'some other drugs' category, than for cannabis, which suggests that many of the false confessors are addicted drug users. This is in agreement with the offenders' reported IVDU, the false confessors reporting far more IVDU than the other participants. The false confessors' drug abuse problem is further underlined by their high scores on the EPQ-Addiction Scale and more frequent treatment contacts for their addiction.

The present study is not able to show any direct link between the drug dependence and the false confession. It is known that substance intoxication or withdrawal symptoms, from both drugs and alcohol, makes people less clear in their thinking during interrogation (Davison and Gossop, 1996; Sigurdsson and Gudjonsson, 1994), and may be important vulnerability factors for giving false confessions in some cases (Gudjonsson, 1992a; Davison and Forshaw, 1993), but no study has so far shown a clear link between substance intoxication or withdrawal and suspects making a false confession during interrogation. A study, which was conducted by Gudjonsson et al. (1993) for the Royal Commission on Criminal Justice in England, shows that many suspects, or 22%, interviewed at police stations had consumed illicit drugs shortly before their arrest, and this may be relevant when judging their 'fitness for interview' and the validity of their confession. Recently, Pearse, Gudjonsson, Clare and Rutter (1998) reported on the relationship between making a confession

and the psychological and criminological variables from the Gudjonsson et al. (1993) study and found that having taken an illicit drug prior to their arrest was the single most important variable that predicted a confession. They interpreted this finding as indicating that drug addicts confess more readily to the crimes than other suspects, because their immediate concern is to get out of the police station to feed their drug habit or to escape from confinement and interrogation. What is not known is how drug withdrawal may, on occasions, result in suspects making a false confession as a way of expediting their release from custody.

Marcos et al. (1986) found that self-reported drug use was most commonly related to having drug using friends, which may explain the high proportion of drug addicts in the present study who falsely confessed to protect a friend or a peer. The greater tendency of drug users to make a false confession than other prison inmates may therefore relate to their general antisocial lifestyle and peer loyalty rather than direct effects of the drug abuse or the dependence per se. Recent studies, cited in Fishbein and Reuland (1994), suggest that drug abuse may be secondary to an antisocial lifestyle and illicit drug use is a behaviour which relates to the violation of social norms and laws. According to Lodhi and Thakur (1993) "...the expectations of this subculture often involve a deliberately and alienated stance which absolves the addict from the usual mores, although the addict may conform to the implicit behavioural requirements of his subculture" (p. 122). Another possibility, which was not investigated in the present study, is that the false confession rate of the drug users and addicts reflects, to a certain extent, their criminal activities and more frequent contact with the police.

It should be emphasised that in this study the drug use and drug dependency of the false confessors was investigated, rather than their intoxication when they were interrogated by the police and made the false confession. It should also be kept in mind that the claimed false confession was made on the average about seven years previous to the author's interview with the participants. Despite that illicit drug use and addiction may be important vulnerability factors in making a false confession and great care should be taken when interviewing the drug dependent suspect to avoid a miscarriage of justice which can result from a false admission to a crime.

5.5. THE CRIMINAL HISTORY OF THE CLAIMED FALSE CONFESSORS.

5.5.1. INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this study was to look at the criminal history of the claimed false confessors and the other prison inmates. As far as false confession and criminal lifestyle are concerned, Gudjonsson (1992a) found that some false confessors had a long criminal history and were familiar with police interrogation and police procedures. Their false confession did not seem to arise from lack of familiarity with police interrogations. However, criminal lifestyle and personality disorder may have made them more susceptible to make a false confession. The present study aims to investigate this issue.

It was hypothesised that overall the claimed false confessors will have a more extensive criminal history than other participants in the study, including having:

1. Started their criminal activities younger;
2. More frequently being interrogated by the police;
3. More previous criminal convictions; and
4. Served more prison sentences.

5.5.2. METHODS.

5.5.2.1. PARTICIPANTS.

As in the first study (5.1) a total of 501 prison inmates were approached, which includes 56 of the false confessors.

5.5.2.2. PROCEDURE.

All new admissions to the Icelandic prisons over a period of over four years were asked to participate (steps 1 to 4 in procedure, Chapter 3). As in study 4.1 the 28 participants approached in the last step of the project (step five) were excluded in order to have a representative sample of all sentenced Icelandic prison inmates.

5.5.2.3. INSTRUMENTS.

In addition to the other questions and questionnaires previously reported each prisoner was asked a number of questions, which included questions about the estimated number of previous police interrogations they had undergone in their lives. Participants who had been interrogated often by the police were typically unable to give a precise number of number of previous interrogations, but gave an approximate estimate (e.g. “about 20 times”, “50 times”).

The participants’ previous criminal history was obtained by going through the criminal and prison records at the office of the Prison and Probation Administration (PPA) in Iceland where the author is employed. Since 1978 the Ministry of Justice and the PPA from 1989 have kept detailed records of all prison sentences served, including the number of times and days spent in prison. In all cases where the official criminal record was out of date a current record was obtained from the Criminal Record Office (CRO).

The CRO gives details of all criminal offences, convictions and sentences from the age of criminal responsibility, which in Iceland is the age of 15. Reports of all offences committed prior to the age of 15 are sent to the appropriate Children’s Committees, whose members act as a magistrate and social worker. In the present study any offences committed prior to the age of 15 were not known.

For each participant their offences prior to their current offence were investigated as well as all sentences served in Icelandic prisons. A note was made of the age when they received their first criminal conviction, the age at which they served their first prison sentence, the number of prison sentences received and served, which included recording separately suspended and unconditional

prison sentences, the number of previous times the participant had served a prison sentence, and the number of days served in prison prior to the current prison sentence. Inmates were commonly serving more than one prison sentence at any one time, all of which run consecutively.

5.5.3. RESULTS.

There was a significant difference between the false confessors and the other participants with regard to whether or not they had previously served a prison sentence ($\chi^2=12.23$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$). For the false confessors 35 (63%) had previously served a prison sentence in contrast to 157 (37%) of the other inmates. For the whole sample 192 (40%) had previously served a prison sentence.

Table 5.14 compares the false confessors and the other participants on various criminological variables. It is evident that the false confessors were significantly younger than the other participants when they obtained their first criminal conviction and when they first served a prison sentence. They had also received significantly more number of prison sentences and had served more days in prison.

Table 5.14. Previous criminal history of the false confessors and the other participants.

	False confessors Mean (SD) (N)	Other participants# Mean (SD) (N)	t-value
Age when first on criminal record	17.2 (1.8) (56)	19.2 (5.3) (423)	-2.74*
Age when first served a prison sentence	22.4 (5.4) (56)	27.6 (8.8) (423)	-4.25**
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1.7 (1.3) (56)	1.0 (1.1) (423)	3.99**
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	8.5 (6.5) (35)	4.4 (4.7) (171)	4.41**
Number of previous times in prison	4.7 (3.5) (35)	2.4 (2.5) (171)	4.60**
Number of days served in prison before current offence	895.4 (819.8) (35)	404.3 (656.7) (160)	3.82**

*p<0.01, **p<0.001. #Two of the participants refused to say whether or not they had made a false confession to the police.

Table 5.15 shows that the great majority (88%) of the false confessors reported having made their first or only false confession after their first criminal conviction. Concerning their first period of imprisonment, almost a third (30%) of the false confessors had been in prison before making the false confession.

Table 5.15. The period when the false confession was made, that is, before or after the first criminal record and the first imprisonment*.

Period	First Criminal Record N (%)	First Imprisonment N (%)
Before false confession	44 (88)	15 (30)
After false confession	6 (12)	35 (70)

*Information about when the false confession took place was not available for six participants.

Table 5.16 shows the self-reported estimate of the participants' of experience with police interrogations. These are classified into three groups: "Never", "1 to 10 times previously", and "11 or more times previously". The false confessors had significantly more experience of police interrogations than the other participants ($\chi^2=32.4$, $df=2$, $p<0.001$). All of the false confessors reported that they had been interrogated on at least one previous occasion by the police in contrast to 369 (89%) of the other participants ($\chi^2=5.19$, $df=1$, $p<0.05$).

Table 5.16. Number of previous interrogations reported by the false confessors and the other participants.

	False confessors	Other participants
	N (%)	N (%)
Never previously interrogated	0 (0)	45 (11)
Interrogated less than 11 times previously	10 (19)	202 (49)
Interrogated more than 11 times previously	43 (81)	167 (40)
Total	53* (12)	414 (88)

*Missing data for three of the false confessors.

Table 5.17 gives the type of offence the participants had confessed to concerning their current offence. In the case of the false confessors they were also asked to give the type of offence to which they had falsely confessed. The offences are classified into six groups, which coincides with the Icelandic legal classification, with the exception that murder is included in the violent offences group. The property offences include theft, burglary and forgery and the serious traffic violations include drunken driving, driving while disqualified, and take and drive away offences. The 'other offences' category includes criminal damage, firesetting and offences against a public servant.

False confessions were most typically made with regard to property offences (59%), followed by serious traffic violations (20%). The nature and pattern of the offence concerning the false confession are very similar to that of the current offence. With regard to the current offence of the other participants, fewer of them had been convicted of property offences (44%) and more of serious traffic violations than the false confessors, but this difference is not significant ($\chi^2=1.93$, $df=1$, $p=0.1642$).

Table 5.17. The type of offence that the participants had confessed to.

Type of offence	False confession offence N (%)	Current offence of the false confessors N (%)	Current offence of other participants N (%)
Property offences	33 (59)	28 (50)	187 (44)
Serious traffic violations	11 (20)	11 (20)	131 (31)
Violent offences	4 (7)	7 (12)	31 (8)
Drug offences	3 (5)	5 (9)	34 (8)
Sexual offences	1 (2)	2 (4)	27 (6)
Other offences	4 (7)	3 (5)	13 (3)
Total	56 (100)	56 (100)	423 (100)

Nine (16%) of the false confessors reported having had a solicitor present during the interrogation regarding the offence they claimed not to have committed, which is very similar to the figure given for their current offence, that is, 10 (18%) of the false confessors and 72 (17%) of the other inmates reported having a solicitor present during the interrogation regarding the offence they were serving a prison sentence for when interviewed by the author. Of the 47 (84%) false confessors who did not have a solicitor 30 (64%) said that they would not have made the false confession to the police if the solicitor had been present.

5.5.4. DISCUSSION.

The results of the present study suggest that claimed false confessions among Icelandic prisoners are a part of their offending behaviour. According to the participants' criminal record the false confessors began their criminal career earlier than the other prison inmates and had spent more time in prison when interviewed by the author. It is not known precisely, except in a few cases, what sentence, if any, the participants had received for the offence they claimed not to have committed and how this may have affected their criminal career or the number of days they had served in prison previously. When offenders in Iceland are sentenced for more than one offence, they are given one sentence for the whole package of offences instead of one sentence for each offence (see Chapter 2.1). Their sentences always run consecutively.

The false confessors also reported having had more experience with police interrogations than the other inmates. The false confessions were in the majority of cases (88%) reported to have taken place after the participant had already acquired a criminal conviction. Of the six (12%) remaining participants three reported having made a false confession before the age of criminal responsibility (i.e. one at the age of 11 and two at the age of 14). In the present study no data was available about the participants' delinquency before they became criminally responsible at the age of 15. It is likely that some of the participants had been actively involved in criminal behaviour before the age of criminal responsibility, which tends to strengthen the present findings that the false confessions were almost invariably made by participants who were already well into criminal offending.

The present findings are likely to be inherently biased in favour of false confessors with a criminal lifestyle. This is due to the fact that the sample involved prison inmates rather than a representative

group of individuals who had been interrogated by the police. Prison inmates are likely to have an extensive previous criminal history, which is supported by the criminological findings in the present study. Therefore, the false confessions reported by the inmates may not be representative of false confessions made by other groups of participants. They may involve false confessions that are principally a part of a criminal lifestyle. As discussed in Chapter 5.2, these types of false confessions are often motivated by the need to protect a somebody else or to avoid further police detention and are associated with antisocial personality characteristics.

The work of Gudjonsson (1992a, 1992b) suggests that there are different motives for making false confessions and it is likely that there are differences in the nature of the false confessions between the non experienced offender who has no familiarity with police interrogations and the experienced criminal who is in frequent contact with the police. Police contact per se may be important in that frequent interactions with the police provides greater opportunities for making a false confession and those who are already actively involved in criminal behaviour may not be too concerned if, in addition to true confessions, they occasionally make some false ones. This careless attitude toward making a false confession during police interrogations is apparent with some of the false confessors in the study, it seemed to be 'no big deal' for them to make a false confession to the police.

It is interesting that the type of offences the participants reported having falsely confessed to were similar to their current offence. One explanation for this similarity is that the police were interviewing them for other similar offences which they had committed and admitting to additional offences, albeit being false, is of no great concern to them (Chapter 5.2.). Active criminals may also feel that the police are not likely to be sympathetic to their claims of innocence and therefore see no

point in denying the offences they have not committed, especially if they think they going to be released from custody more quickly or that a guilty friend is protected from prosecution as a result.

The present findings suggest that the nature and motive for making false confessions are complicated and marked differences may exist between different participant groups. The study has added information about one such group, convicted prison inmates. Criminal lifestyle seems an important factor for this particular group and it may be strongly associated with antisocial personality characteristics.

5.6. DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS: THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND CRIMINOLOGICAL VARIABLES IN STUDIES 5.3, 5.4, AND 5.5.

5.6.1. INTRODUCTION.

This chapter looks at the relative importance of the psychological and criminological variables that were investigated in the previous three studies (Chapters 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5). These studies have revealed significant differences between the claimed false confessors and the other prison inmates on a number of psychological, criminological, and substance abuse variables. The findings do not however indicate which of these variables discriminates most significantly between these two groups of prison inmates or their relative importance once all the interactions among the variables have been taken into account. A test of discriminant analysis was conducted on the data in order to

determine which of the variables discriminate most between the two groups, that is, to determine the set of characteristics that allows for the best discrimination between these two groups of Icelandic prison inmates.

5.6.2. METHODS.

5.6.2.1. PARTICIPANTS.

All the 509 prison inmates were included in this study.

5.6.1.2. PROCEDURE.

All the variables in studies 5.3, 5.4, and 5.5 were selected for the discriminant analysis, which was conducted in three parts: (1) on the psychological variables separately (study 5.3), (2) on the criminological and the substance use variables in one group (studies 5.4 and 5.5), and finally (3) on the variables that discriminated most significantly between the two groups in (1) and (2). Table 5.18 gives the psychological variables and the criminological and substance use variables that were used in the two first analyses.

Table 5.18. The psychological, criminological and substance use variables which were used in the discriminant analysis.

Psychological variables	Criminological and substance use variables
Gough Socialisation Scale	Age when first on criminal record
EPQ-Psychoticism	Age when first served a prison sentence
EPQ-Extraversion	Number of previous suspended prison sentences
EPQ-Neuroticism	Number of previous unconditional prison sentences
EPQ-Lie	Number of previous times in prison
Other-Deception Questionnaire	Number of days served in prison prior to current sentence
Self-Deception Questionnaire	Number of previous self-reported interrogations
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	Frequent alcohol use
GSS1-Recall	Any illicit drug use
GSS1-Yield1	Cannabis use
GSS1-Yield2	Amphetamine use
GSS1-Shift	Cocaine use
GSS1-Total Suggestibility	'Some other' illicit drug use
GSS1-Fabrication	Intravenous drug use (IVDU)
GSS1-Distortion	Drug dependency
GSS1-Total Confabulation (F+D)	EPQ-Addiction Scale
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	

5.6.3. RESULTS.

Table 5.19 gives the results from the first discriminant function analysis. Two of the psychological variables, the Gough Socialisation Scale and the Gudjonsson Compliance Scale (GCS), contributed most significantly between the false confessors and the other participants in the first analysis (Wilks' Lambda= 0.8967; F(2,191)=10.998, p<0.001).

Table 5.19. Discriminant function analysis (stepwise) of the psychological variables which discriminated significantly between the false confessors and the other participants in study 5.3.

Variable	F-remove (1, 191)	p-level	R-squared
Gough Socialisation Scale	15.86	0.000	0.006
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale (GSC)	3.88	0.050	0.006

In the second analysis, which is described in Table 5.20, three of the criminological and substance use variables, number of times previously in prison, the use of 'some other' illicit drug previous to imprisonment and the Addiction Scale on the EPQ, discriminated most significantly between the two groups (Wilks' Lambda= 0.8548; F(3,199)=11.269, p<0.001).

Table 5.20. Discriminant function analysis of the criminological and substance use variables which discriminated significantly between the false confessors and the other participants in studies 5.4 and 5.5.

Variable	F-remove (3, 199)	p-level	R-squared
Number of previous imprisonments	13.36	0.000	0.037
'Some other' illicit drug	4.44	0.036	0.066
EPQ-Addiction Scale	4.25	0.040	0.068

Table 5.21 shows the results of the final analysis on the five variables that were extracted in the two previous models. Only two of the five variables contributed to the prediction of group membership, that is, there were two variables in the model which was finally extracted (Wilks' Lambda= 0.8593; F(2,202)=16.534, p<0.001). As was hypothesised the variables which discriminated most significantly between the false confessors and the other participants were the Gough Socialisation Scale, measuring antisocial personality characteristics, and previous prison experience.

Table 5.21. Discriminant function analysis of the variables which discriminated significantly between the false confessors and the other participants in the previous studies (5.3, 5.4, and 5.5).

Variable	F-remove (1, 197)	p-level	R-squared	Structure coefficient
Number of previous imprisonments	12.81	0.000	0.050	0.802
Gough Socialisation Scale	10.64	0.001	0.050	-0.759

The analysis produced a significant function ($\text{Chi}^2=30.63$, $(df=2)$, $p<0.001$), which was able to correctly classify 93.0% of the non-false confessors, but only 32.3% of the false confessors, with a total classification rate of 82.7%. The structure coefficients for the predictor variables, which represent the correlations between the variables and the discriminant function, are used to determine the unique contribution of each predictor variable to the function. They indicated that the predictor variables reached a sufficient elimination level and therefore could be used in the interpretation of the significant function.

5.6.4. DISCUSSION.

This study attempted to investigate the relative importance of all the variables which were investigated in the three previous studies (5.3, 5.4, and 5.5). The findings indicate that the reporting of a false confession among this particular group of offenders, that is, Icelandic prison inmates, is most strongly related to their previous prison experience and antisocial personality characteristics as measured by the Gough Socialisation Scale. When discriminant analysis was conducted separately for the psychological variables, the Gudjonsson Compliance Scale also discriminated significantly between the two groups, but neuroticism and the scores on the Other-Deception and Self-

Deception questionnaires did not add to the discrimination once the other two salient factors had entered the statistical model. A separate analysis of the criminological and substance use variables revealed two additional substance use variables discriminating significantly between the two groups, but none of the other sixteen criminological and substance use variables were able to discriminate between the two groups. Further analysis was done by putting all the 33 psychological, criminological and substance use variables (see Table 5.18) together and this gave almost identical results.

The findings clearly highlight the importance of antisocial personality characteristics and previous prison experience as powerful predictors associated with claimed false confessions. The number of days previously spent in prison and the score obtained on the Gough Socialisation Scale are from two different sources. The former is a criminological variable, monitored by the Prison Service, whereas the latter is a self-reported psychological measure of antisocial personality characteristics. The two variables were significantly negatively correlated (Spearman Rank Order Correlation = -0.32, $p < 0.001$) and are undoubtedly associated with the suspects' underlying personality and criminal background. Perhaps the best way of interpreting this finding is in terms of the participants' criminal life style, where they are commonly offending and being arrested and interviewed by the police. This may shape their attitude towards the criminal justice system as a whole, where occasionally making a false confession is of no major concern to them and in most instances it probably does not influence markedly the sentence imposed by the court. For them the false confession represents an easy way out of a stressful situation, such as escaping from police pressure and expediting their release from custody. Their decision to make a false confession in such circumstances may be influenced by their familiarity with the sentencing practice of the Icelandic

Courts, where they are not sentenced for each offence separately and one additional offence is going to make only a marginal difference.

The findings from the discriminant analysis demonstrate the importance of antisocial personality characteristics and criminality in differentiating between the claimed false confessors and other inmates. This is useful in discovering some salient overall group differences, but such an analysis fails to take into consideration individual differences in a given case. For example, the nature of the claimed false confession, as discussed in Chapter 5.3, is associated with different psychological characteristics. Therefore, when assessing a given case it can be unwise to generalise from overall group differences.

5.7. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPES OF CLAIMED FALSE CONFESSION MADE AND THE REASONS WHY SUSPECTS CONFESS TO THE POLICE ACCORDING TO THE GUDJONSSON CONFESSION QUESTIONNAIRE REVISED (GCQ-R).

5.7.1. INTRODUCTION.

As discussed in Chapter 4, data of the GCQ-R for the current offence was collected for 411 inmates and those inmates who claimed to have made a false confession with regard to a previous offence also completed the GCQ-R with regard to that offence. In this Chapter comparisons are made with regard to GCQ-R factor scores between different types of false confession. It is

expected that the self-reported perceptions and reactions during the interrogation would reflect the type of false confession made. For example, those participants who had *voluntarily* confessed falsely to the police did not do so due to police pressure, in contrast to the *coerced-internalised* and *coerced-compliant* types, whose false confession was primarily elicited due to police or custodial pressure.

Differences are also expected between *coerced-internalised* and *coerced-compliant* types of false confessions, because the former involves the participant having developed the belief that they had committed the offence without their having had any memory of it. It is the first study to use the GCQ-R to investigate suspects' perceptions and reactions to police interrogations where they claim that they have made a false confession.

Hypotheses:

I. *Voluntary* vs. *coerced* types :

1. The *voluntary* false confessors will score lower than the other claimed false confessors on the GCQ-R *external pressure* factor, because the claimed false confession was largely *voluntary* and would therefore not require much external pressure in order to be elicited.
2. The *voluntary* false confessors will report lower resistance to police pressure on the GCQ-R *resistance* factor.

II. *Coerced-internalised* vs. *coerced-compliant* false confessions:

1. The *coerced-internalised* false confessors will score higher than the *coerced-compliant* on the GCQ-R *internal pressure* factor, because their believing that they

had committed the offence, even if they had not done so, would theoretically result in increased internal pressure to confess.

2. The *coerced-internalised* false confessors will score higher than the *coerced-compliant* on the GCQ-R *perception of proof* factor, because they have come to believe that they committed the offence.

5.7.2. METHOD.

5.7.2.1. PARTICIPANTS AND PROCEDURE.

Those inmates who claimed that they had made a false confession sometime in their life completed the GCQ-R for the interrogation about that offence. This group comprised 57 inmates. A further five participants, who claimed to have made a false confession, did not complete the GCQ-R. These five participants were interviewed about the false confession during the pilot study and could not be contacted again in order to seek further information.

5.7.3. RESULTS.

Table 5.22 shows the differences in mean scores on the six factors of the GCQ-R between the *voluntary* and *coerced* types of false confession. Both the hypotheses were supported. That is, the *voluntary* false confessors reported less resistance and external pressure during the interrogation. In addition, they differed significantly in respect to their *perception of proof* and the *internal pressure* to confess, although no specific hypotheses had been formulated with regard to these findings.

Table 5.22. Mean and standard deviation scores on the GCQ-R factors for the *voluntary* and the *coerced* types of false confession.

	<i>Voluntary</i> Mean (SD) (N=20)	<i>Coerced</i> Mean (SD) (N=37)	t-value
Factor 1: External Pressure!	2.2 (0.9)	4.7 (1.5)	-6.85**
Factor 2: Internal Pressure	1.7 (0.4)	2.4 (1.0)	-2.89*
Factor 3: Perception of Proof	2.2 (0.9)	3.6 (1.0)	-4.98**
Factor 4: Drug Intoxication	3.5 (1.4)	2.7 (1.5)	1.98
Factor 5: Legal Rights	4.9 (2.1)	4.3 (2.2)	0.98
Factor 6: Resistance!	1.7 (0.7)	4.1 (1.1)	-8.47**

*p<0.01, **p<0.001. !One-tailed tests.

In order to compare the factor scores for the *coerced-compliant* and the *coerced-internalised* false confessors t-tests were computed. Table 5.23 shows the difference in GCQ-R factor scores between the two groups of the coerced false confessors. The *coerced-internalised* false confessors reported having experienced more internal pressure during the interrogation than the *coerced-compliant* false confessors, but the hypothesis concerning the perception of proof was not supported.

Table 5.23. Mean and standard deviation scores on the GCQ-R factors between the *coerced-compliant* and *coerced-internalised* false confessors.

	<i>Coerced-compliant</i> Mean (SD) (N=25)	<i>Coerced-internalised</i> Mean (SD) (N=9)	t-value
Factor 1: External Pressure	4.8 (1.5)	4.9 (1.6)	-0.12
Factor 2: Internal Pressure!	2.2 (0.8)	2.9 (1.5)	-1.94*
Factor 3: Perception of Proof	3.6 (1.1)	3.9 (1.0)	-0.60
Factor 4: Drug Intoxication	2.4 (1.3)	3.0 (1.6)	-1.0
Factor 5: Legal Rights	3.9 (2.2)	5.2 (2.0)	-1.63
Factor 6: Resistance	4.2 (0.9)	4.2 (1.6)	-0.04

*p<0.05. !One-tailed test.

5.7.4. DISCUSSION.

The hypotheses with regard to the *voluntary* false confessions were supported. *Voluntary* false confessors reported significantly less *external pressure* and *resistance* during the interrogation. This suggests that they experienced less police pressure during the interrogations and reported less regret for having made the false confession to the police. The main motive for the *voluntary* false confession was the need to protect a significant other, typically a peer or a friend. There is considerable overlap in the present study between the concept of *voluntary* false confession and the need to protect somebody else. Indeed, all but one of the *voluntary* false confessions were made in order to protect a significant other. The remaining one participant confessed in order to take revenge on the police (see case 41 in Appendix III).

Two further findings were of interest. First, the *voluntary* false confessors reported less *perception of proof* and *internal pressure* than the coerced false confessors. The most likely explanation is that police pressure involves the interrogator emphasising the strength of the evidence against the suspect and thereby altering the suspect's perceptions and internal need to confess. It is interesting to note that American interrogation techniques primarily consist of the police attempting to manipulating the suspects' perceptions about the strength of the police evidence against them (Inbau, Reid and Buckley, 1986). Such interrogation techniques commonly involve psychological manipulation, deceit and trickery, which are effective in eliciting a confession from guilty suspects. On occasions, such techniques elicit a false confession (Gudjonsson, 1992a).

As was expected, the *coerced-internalised* false confessors had experienced significantly greater internal pressure to confess during the police interviews. This relates to their believing during the interrogation that they had committed the offence of which they were suspected. When comparing the *coerced-compliant* and the *coerced-internalised* it was unexpected to find that the latter did not score higher on the *perception of proof* factor, although they all came to believe during the interrogation that they were responsible for the offence they were questioned about by the police. This suggests that their confessions were based on the belief that they were in fact guilty, rather than a belief in the ability of the police to prove their involvement.

6. GENERAL DISCUSSION

6.1. THE THESIS.

One of the objectives of this thesis was to study the frequency of false confessions among two groups of Icelandic offenders, sentenced prison inmates and juvenile delinquents who had been given conditional discharge by the prosecution. The purpose was to investigate the reasons people give for having made a false confession to the police, under what circumstances they do so, their psychological and criminological characteristics, and their previous alcohol and illicit drug use. None of the juveniles claimed to have made a false confession to the police in their life, therefore no assessment findings are reported in this thesis. The false confessors were compared with other inmates on a number of psychological, criminological and substance use variables.

This is the first major study to investigate claimed false confessions among offenders using a self-report methodology. Only one previous study (Richardson, 1991) had investigated claimed false confessions by using a similar self-report methodology, that is, asking the offenders whether they had ever made a false confession to the police. In Richardson's study juvenile delinquents in England were investigated, but these were experienced delinquents, who were locked up in a forensic institution because of their serious or persistent criminal behaviour. The high number of false confessions reported in that study (23%) formed the basis for the hypothesis, that offenders sometimes claim to have made false confessions and this could be investigated among Icelandic prisoners.

As was expected from investigating a group of sentenced prison inmates, the majority (92%) of the participants in the thesis had a history of previous convictions and a relatively high proportion of them (40%) had previously served a prison sentence. Therefore, it was expected that the claimed false confessors in this sample would have a considerable experience of police procedures and the criminal justice system, as opposed to the inexperienced false confessors in Gudjonsson's (1992a) case studies, who commonly had no experience of being interrogated by the police and of being detained at a police station.

There are three main reasons for studying Icelandic prison inmates. Firstly, the author is based in Iceland where he has been employed by the national Prison and Probation Administration (PPA) since 1988. He is based at the office of the PPA, where he has excellent office facilities, and visits the prisons regularly. During the years his main role has been to provide cognitive-behavioural therapy for prison inmates, those who have been given a conditional release from prison, and juvenile delinquents who have been given conditional discharge by the prosecution. This has given him an easy access to these groups of offenders, as well as to the prison service staff. Secondly, in Iceland the whole population of sentenced prison inmates could be approached on admission to one of the five prisons. This is one of the unique aspects of the thesis. Thirdly, being an employee of the PPA, the author has access to a vast amount of official criminological data about sentenced offenders. The Ministry of Justice, the prison service authorities and the Icelandic Data Protection Committee gave their permission for the study.

A total of 530 prison inmates and 135 juvenile offenders were approached during the study and 96 per cent of the prison inmates and 80 per cent of the juveniles co-operated and gave their written agreement. This high participation rate among the prison inmates is another unique aspect of the thesis, although this was expected after the pilot study (Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson, 1994) had been conducted, which gave the same participation rate. No previous study among prison inmates in Iceland is known to have a comparable participation rate. Two previous studies, Gudjonsson and Petursson (1991) and Birgisson (1989) reported participation rate of 72% and 76% respectively. The reasons for the willingness of the inmates to participate in the study are not obvious, but a few will be suggested.

Firstly, it may be important that the author is an employee of the prison service and therefore relatively well known among Icelandic prison inmates. The total number of prisoners each year in Iceland is rather small, and was, at the time of the study, only about one hundred inmates. Each inmate was first approached by a prison officer and asked to attend an interview with the psychologist (the author). Often the inmates had been told previously, by the prison officer who interviewed them on admission, to expect an interview with the psychologist within the next few days. During the four years of the research this became a standard procedure in the main prison and the author was the only member of the prison service staff who met every inmate admitted to one of the five prisons in Iceland.

Secondly, the inmates were approached by the author within ten days of admission and possibly before they had adapted fully to the prison environment. The demand for psychological help among prison inmates had been gradually increasing during the preceding

years and there was a waiting list for an interview with the psychologist. Therefore some of the participants may have been more keen to co-operate in order to see the psychologist. Some used the opportunity to ask for therapy during the research interview with the author. The assistance they asked for was not related to the study or to the claimed false confession. That is, they were not asking for help with proving their innocence, and had apparently nothing to gain from lying to the author about the false confession. In addition the great majority of the false confessions had nothing to do with the offence for which they were serving a prison sentence when interviewed by the author.

All the participants were asked whether they had ever made a false confession to the police. This question was carefully concealed within an extensive test battery. Those who claimed that they had, were asked in detail about the false confession, its nature and circumstances. They were asked to give a detailed account of the false confession, and recall as exactly as they could, the antecedents to the interrogation, their perception of what happened during the interrogation, and the consequences of having made the false confession to the police. An attempt was made to reconstruct the circumstances of the interrogation related to the claimed false confession. Gudjonsson's (1989b) cognitive-behavioural model of confessions was used to guide the questioning of the claimed false confession and the False Confessions Checklist (FCC) (Appendix II) was constructed for the same purpose. Each case was evaluated against the criteria for false confession which was used in the study and a few cases were excluded, because they did not seem credible (e.g. if the participant was not certain himself and claimed it might have happened or if he was not certain about whether or not he was involved in the offence). One elderly inmate was excluded because forensic evidence clearly implicated him in

the offence. He was serving a prison sentence for having raped his sister and appeared not to want to own up to it. Each account of the claimed false confessions, which were included in the study, was written up by the author as they are presented in Appendix III.

An attempt was made to formulate the hypotheses, which were postulated, as far as possible from a theoretical perspective, using theories and models of confessing behaviour, which were reviewed in Chapter 1, as well as being guided by the previous empirical evidence. The hypotheses are in fact based on four different sources:

1. Theoretical models of confessions (Gudjonsson, 1989b, 1992a; Kassin and Wrightsman, 1985) and interrogative suggestibility (Gudjonsson and Clark, 1986).
2. The existing knowledge of false confessions, which comes mainly from clinically assessed cases of disputed false confessions (Gudjonsson and MacKeith, 1997; Gudjonsson, 1992a).
3. The findings of Richardson (1991) that many adolescent offenders claim to have made a false confession in order to protect a significant other (e.g. a peer).
4. The results of the pilot study, conducted by Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson (1994).

6.2. THE MAIN RESULTS.

A substantial proportion (12%) of the prison inmates claimed to have made a false confession to the police sometimes in their life and some of them more than once. The frequency of claimed false confessions was identical to that of the pilot study (Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson, 1994), although the sample had been nearly doubled and the study extended over a period of

four years. These consistent results are likely to increase the credibility of the thesis and they indicate that a stable proportion of Icelandic prison inmates report making a false confession to the police at some point in their life.

Most of the hypotheses which were tested in the thesis were supported, with important exceptions (these will be discussed later in this Chapter) and the results of the pilot study were all confirmed. The inmates gave two main reasons for making false confessions to the police as they did in the pilot study. About half of them because they gave in to police pressure and/or in order to avoid being detained in custody and another half in order to protect somebody else from being arrested or prosecuted. The person which they claimed to have been protecting was in the majority of cases (82%) someone who was significant to them (i.e. a friend, a peer or a relative). The overlap between the reasons the participants gave for making the false confessions, especially between police pressure and avoidance of custody, which was considerable, supports Gudjonsson's (1992a) argument that people tend to make false confessions for a combination of reasons rather than from one reason only. What is also interesting is that only about one third of the false confessors claimed to have retracted the confession. Those who did not either saw no point in doing so, even when they had made the false confession because of police pressure or in order to escape custody. The reasons why so few of the false confessors claimed to have retracted the confession are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

How can this high proportion of claimed, and commonly unretracted, false confessions happen within the Icelandic justice system, where there are supposed to be stringent corroboration

requirements? Does the explanation lie within the false confessors themselves (i.e. their vulnerabilities and criminal life-style), or within the Icelandic Criminal Justice System? One of the primary aim of the thesis was to investigate why false confessions happen and whether the reasons relate to the false confessors' vulnerabilities, the participants' reported tactics of the Icelandic police, or the procedures of the Icelandic Criminal Justice System.

The findings reveal a marked difference between the false confessors and the other prison inmates who participated in the study, in terms of criminal history, personality characteristics, and illicit drug use. The variables, which discriminated most between the false confessors and the other participants were antisocial personality characteristics as measured by the Gough Socialisation Scale (Gough, 1962) and their previous criminal history according to the official records. The false confessors appear to have a much more extensive criminal history than the other inmates and they seem to be much more antisocial in their personality. Also of significant importance is their elevated neuroticism scores on the EPQ (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1975), their compliant tendencies, as measured by the Gudjonsson Compliance Scale (Gudjonsson, 1997a) and their previous illicit drug use, which seems to be much more extensive than among the other inmates.

It was unexpected to find that the false confessors were of a similar intellectual and educational level as the other prison inmates, which suggests that as far as prison inmates are concerned intellectual factors may not be of any significance in explaining their false confessions. This does not mean that intellectual and educational factors are not important in some cases of false confession. In fact, intelligence and lack of education may be particularly

important in cases where suspects are unfamiliar with the legal system. For example, in some of the cases discussed by Gudjonsson (1992a) and Gudjonsson and MacKeith (1997) intellectual limitations were important in the suspects not understanding the questions asked or the implications of their answers. According to Clare and Gudjonsson (1993) people with mild learning disabilities are more vulnerable than those who are of average intelligence to giving erroneous testimony during interrogations for a number of reasons, including not properly understanding the implications and consequences of their answers.

Overall, there was no significant difference between the two groups in terms of suggestibility as measured by the GSS 1 (Gudjonsson, 1997a). When the false confessors were compared according to the classification of their false confessions into psychological types according to the Kassin and Wrightsman (1985) model, those who had made *coerced-internalised* false confessions differed most from the other false confessors in terms of the psychological characteristics as was expected. They appeared to be more suggestible on the GSS 1 than those participants who had made the *voluntary* and the *coerced-compliant* confessions and they also displayed a greater tendency to confabulate. What is of particular interest was their elevated Extraversion score on the EPQ (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1975), which may be strongly related to their alcohol use, since all, but one of them, claimed to have no memory of what they were doing at the time when the offence was committed because they were so heavily intoxicated with alcohol. A 'memory distrust syndrome' (Gudjonsson and MacKeith, 1982) in combination with their openness and suggestibility may explain their *coerced-internalised* false confession.

The non-existence of false confessions among the juveniles in the study was unexpected in view of the Richardson (1991) study in England, which found that 23% of a group of residential juvenile delinquents claimed to have made a false confession to the police, and mainly in order to protect an older friend or a peer. The juveniles in Richardson's study seem to have been more similar to the Icelandic prison inmates with respect to their criminal behaviour and previous convictions. The Icelandic juveniles were mainly first offenders, who had confessed to minor crimes. Only a small proportion of them had a previous criminal record when they were interviewed by the author. They also appeared to be more similar in their psychological characteristics to the general juvenile population in Iceland than they were to the Icelandic prison inmates. This reinforces the findings that false confessions in Iceland may be mainly a part of a criminal lifestyle.

On the basis of the pilot study it was expected that females would report false confessions more frequently than their male counterparts. This hypothesis was not supported, although the trend remained the same as in the pilot study, that is, the females reported false confessions more frequently, but the difference did not quite reach a statistical difference at the traditional 5% level. Unfortunately, the number of females in the present thesis was very small (females represent about 6% of the Icelandic prison population), but in view of the difference in the figures for the two sexes it is important for further studies to concentrate on possible sex differences in the frequency and nature of false confessions and the reasons for this difference.

6.3. FALSE CONFESSIONS, A PART OF A CRIMINAL LIFESTYLE?

The fact that the claimed false confessors appeared to have much more extensive criminal histories than the other inmates strongly suggests that making a false confession may be a part of their offending behaviour or criminal life style. This may have developed from early adolescence, because it seems that the majority of the false confessors were actively involved in offending before the age of criminal responsibility, which in Iceland is at the age of 15. They were frequently in the hands of the police from an early age, which has obviously given them greater opportunities for making false confessions. This frequent police contact may also have shaped their attitudes toward the police and the criminal justice system and provided them with a personal experience of how to respond to the demands of a police interrogation and what to expect. They may have developed persistent beliefs about the consequences of denying and confessing during interrogation, no matter whether or not they were responsible for the offence. Many of the false confessors appeared to have the belief that if suspected of an offence there was no point in strongly denying it. That is, the police and the court would not believe in their innocence, because of their previous offending history.

In a small community like Iceland the police and the suspect typically know each other well from previous contacts and the police are likely to have detailed information about the suspect's previous convictions. That information and being familiar with one another is likely to affect the behaviour of both parties during the interrogation. Previous convictions may in fact increase a police officer's belief in the suspect's guilt (Gudjonsson, 1992a; Firth, 1975) and as Pearse (1997) states, "In the police interview, the importance of a suspect's previous convictions may outweigh his explanation or protestation of innocence" (p. 32).

More than half of the false confessors claimed to have made the false confession to the police when they were interrogated in connection to other similar offences, which they had committed. These individuals may not have been too concerned about the consequences of admitting to an additional case, when interrogated by the police for other similar offences they may have actually committed. Many of the false confessors said they did not greatly mind taking on another case, especially if it “belonged” to someone who was significant to them.

Being active users of illicit drugs suggests a certain antisocial lifestyle, which is strongly related to criminal behaviour, and illicit drug use is by itself an unlawful act. Being dependent on illicit drugs creates difficulties in personal relationships and may affect the suspect’s reaction to the pressure of a police interrogation. Many of the false confessions were motivated by the need to protect somebody else and these were strongly related to illicit drug use at the time of offending and during the interrogations and some of the false confessors expected favours from the real culprits in terms of drugs supplies. To what extent drug intoxication and withdrawal symptoms affect suspects’ mental state and decision making during police interviewing is not possible to say from the present findings, neither is the differential effect of different types of drugs. In this respect additional research is needed.

The sentencing practice by the Icelandic Courts may also be an important factor in explaining the behaviour of these claimed false confessors. When defendants are tried in court in Iceland for a number of separate offences, they are given one sentence for the whole package of offences, even though they are of different types. This may result in the offender not having a

realistic notion of the weight of each offence in the total sentence he receives. In addition, one additional offence may not have made much difference to the overall sentence, particularly in the cases of recidivists. When weighing up the 'pros' and 'cons' of making a false confession, against persistently denying the police accusations, it may be tempting just to agree with the police in order to escape from the stressful situation of the interrogation or in order to avoid being detained in custody. These offenders may have considered the immediate consequences of making a false confession to the police as more desirable than the stress of further interrogation and possibly prolonged detention.

Many of the inmates stated that confessing falsely to one additional offence when they had already confessed to a number of similar offences, which they had truly committed (i.e. one additional burglary or one additional falsified cheque), probably would not make any real difference to the length of their subsequent sentence. This is a well known "discount rule", which has become a standard practice in the Icelandic Courts. Quite a number of the false confessors claimed that they had been protecting a friend who was on probation and argued correctly that he would have been given a heavier sentence for only one single offence than they would be given for one offence in addition to a number of other similar offences. The police may on occasions influence the suspect's decision to confess by emphasising this sentencing policy during interrogation and thereby decreasing the suspect's concerns about making a false confession. This kind of sentencing policy may be encouraging false confessions, at least among some personality disordered and antisocial recidivists.

6.4. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES.

The fact that a number of the claimed false confessions happened many years previously may have created some methodological problems. Recollections of events that happened in the past are often problematic, because memory fades with time and descriptions of events are also adversely influenced by a number of post-event interferences (Loftus, 1979). One post-event interference relevant to many of the present cases relates to the fact that the participants had been interviewed by the police on numerous occasions subsequent to the claimed false confession. This can result in their confusing one police interview with another, or one offence with another. In addition, their antisocial life-style, including extensive substance abuse, may interfere with the acquisition, retention and retrieval of memory traces. However, it is noteworthy that the immediate verbal score on the GSS 1 among the claimed false confessors was similar to the scores obtained by other inmates, and they compare very favourably with the norms found among British forensic cases. Indeed, the mean immediate recall score of 16.7 on the GSS 1 for the current sample of claimed false confessors falls in the 75th percentile rank for British court referrals (see Table 5.2 and Appendix 2 in the Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scales Manual; Gudjonsson, 1997a). These findings suggest that the participants in the present study, as a group, revealed no major memory problems on psychometric testing. In the majority of cases their verbal memory recall fell well within normal limits.

The study is not only heavily dependent on the offenders' accurate memory, but also on their willingness to give truthful accounts of the claimed false confessions and one may wonder whether these stories of claimed false confession are genuine or whether they are pure fabrications. In view of the presence of antisocial personality characteristics among this group,

one must be cautious about accepting uncritically their version of events. Typically, the “ground truth” is difficult to establish in cases of claimed false confession and in most instances it was not possible to corroborate their accounts from official sources. Certainly, as Gudjonsson (1993, 1992a) points out, retracting a previously made confession prior to trial is increasingly common and it is unlikely that many of those cases are genuine “false confessions”. These types of cases are typically referred by defence solicitors for a psychological assessment in order to identify potential psychological vulnerabilities on which to dispute the confession (Gudjonsson, 1993). The inmates in this study are unlikely to fall into this retracted group discussed by Gudjonsson. Firstly, only a minority had retracted the confession. Secondly, none had been referred to a psychologist for a pre-trial report in regard to their claimed false confession. Thirdly, none of the false confessors requested assistance from the author to prove their innocence. All gave a description of their false confession which was credible, although it is not possible in most instances to verify the truthfulness of their account. In some of the cases the accounts were supported, partly or in detail, by available court papers and police reports. The participants were asked to recall the police interview as accurately as they could, its antecedents, circumstances, and the consequences. It is of course important to bear in mind that what they reported is dependent on their memory and their subjective experience of what happened during the interrogation.

Another possibility is that the personality disordered offenders were seeking attention from the author or merely attempting to enhance their self-esteem by claiming to have made false confessions. To prevent this from happening the project was not presented to the participants as a study into false confessions. In fact, it was introduced as a study investigating offenders’

previous alcohol and drug use and their attitudes toward their offences. The question about having made a false confession to the police was not at all eye-catching among all the other questions and questionnaires in the test battery which was administered. It was placed in between a number of questions and questionnaires (Appendix II), which prevented the participants from noticing its special importance. If the inmates had realised the importance of false confessions as one of the major themes of the study it might have biased the information they gave.

At least some of them might have been enthusiastic about helping the author with fictitious stories of false confessions. Information spreads very quickly among the prison inmates and, as mentioned before, the number of inmates in the Icelandic prisons is very small (ranging from 9 to 52 in each of the prisons at the time of the research). In the main prison in Reykjavik, *Hegningarhúsið*, where the majority (76%) of the inmates were interviewed, the number of inmates ranged from 15 to 29 during the research period. It is also of interest that during the research period no one ever asked about this particular question or even about false confessions in general, although a number of inmates asked for a second interview to ask questions about the research or to make inquiries about the test results. That is, they were keen to find out the results from the tests, which is common when psychological tests are administered within the prison.

Another important point to make is that the false confessors were not trying to present themselves in a socially favourable light during the assessment according to their significantly lower scores on the Other-Deception and Self-Deception Questionnaires (Sacheim and Gur,

1979). This suggests that they were more open about their feelings and undesirable behaviours than the other inmates in the study. In other words, they were not unduly attempting to “fake good” during the assessment. One possible explanation for the low deception scores among the claimed false confessors relates to the severity of their personality disorder where they have no need to make attempts to present themselves to others in a socially favourable light. In other words, they are not concerned about what other people think of them and this influences their responses on deception questionnaires. Of course the majority of the participants in the study appeared to be open and forthcoming about themselves and their offending behaviour.

The participants’ present psychological characteristics, which were assessed, are not necessarily those at the time when the false confession happened. That is, the comparison made between the false confessors and the other participants is based on the present situation, not the situation as it may have been at the time of the claimed false confession. It is not possible to say if their scores on the psychological tests would have been substantially different had they been assessed at the time of making the false confession.

The scores on some psychological tests vary considerably over time, although the tests used in the present study are reasonably reliable when used over time. The majority of the “false confessors” claimed to have made the false confession when they were young (i.e. juvenile delinquents), six (12%) of them even before the age of criminal responsibility, when they seem to have already been actively involved in criminal activity. If the false confessions can be explained as being a part of the offenders criminal lifestyle or offending behaviour, then it is

not surprising that no false confessions were found among the juveniles in the study. They were by definition first offenders, which is the reason why they were given a conditional discharge by the prosecution. Another group of more experienced juvenile delinquents would have been appropriate to investigate, for example a group of juvenile delinquents who have been given suspended sentences for repeated offending or more serious crimes, but such a group was not available at the time of the study.

6.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The findings of this thesis add markedly to the literature on claimed false confessions, but the sample studied was comprised of selected groups of Icelandic offenders and it is unwise to generalise too much about false confessions in other groups and settings. The present thesis was conducted within an inquisitorial legal system where confessions appear to be rarely retracted. In contrast, the adversarial system, as practised in England and the USA, seems currently bombarded by defendants who have retracted a previously made confession (Gudjonsson, 1992a). It is likely that confessions are less commonly retracted where the inquisitorial system operates, because such a legal system typically requires confession evidence to be in some way corroborated. For example, in Iceland, as in the other Nordic countries, there are quite stringent corroboration requirements with regard to confession evidence, whereas in England defendants are commonly convicted on the basis of their confession alone, even when the confession is disputed at their trial (Gudjonsson, 1992a). As seen from the present study, stringent corroboration requirements do not appear to fully protect suspects from making a false confession and being wrongfully convicted.

Another reason for the apparently infrequent retraction of confession evidence where the inquisitorial system operates may lie in the inherent nature of a legal system which requires that confessions are reiterated in front of a judge prior to the trial. Once the suspect has repeated the confession in front of a judge he may see little point in retracting it subsequently. This view is supported by the comments that many of the participants made when explaining why they had not retracted the confession.

The false confessions in the thesis are somewhat different in nature from those in the existing literature, which mostly gives us examples of retracted false confessions to serious offences such as murders and terrorists acts. The majority of the claimed false confessions in this thesis were not retracted and they were made mainly (59%) regarding property offences during police interrogations when the false confessors were questioned for other similar offences. The false confessors in the thesis, who had been so actively involved in criminal behaviour from early on in their life, may also be different from the false confessors in the literature who are mostly inexperienced with police interrogations and the proceedings of the criminal justice system (Gudjonsson, 1992a). The findings support previous evidence that psychologically vulnerable suspects are more likely to make false confessions to the police and that suggestible individuals are more likely to make *coerced-internalised* false confessions than other false confessors. In addition, the inmates' willingness to give the author detailed accounts of the nature and circumstances of the false confessions was indeed noteworthy and made this study possible.

In spite of a number of methodological limitations, the thesis improves our understanding of the nature of claimed false confessions and their relationship with personality, criminality and illicit drug use. Its significance maybe noted in an on-going debate between professors of law in the USA, about the frequency of false confessions resulting in wrongful convictions and the necessary safeguards during police interrogations, or the "...the tradeoffs between false confessions and lost confessions..." (Cassell, 1997, p.1), where the pilot study by Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson (1994) has been cited as "...the only empirical study of this issue" (Cassell, 1997, p.15).

The findings give no indication about the frequency with which persons interviewed by the police falsely confess. All that can be concluded is that a proportion of prison inmates claim to have made a false confession during a police interview at some time in their juvenile or adult life and a great majority never retract it. The thesis highlights the risk of false confession during police interviewing, even within an inquisitorial system where there is a stringent corroboration requirement. Such cases, because they appear to be infrequently retracted, may go largely unnoticed by the judiciary.

No precise methods to prevent false confessions from occurring can be suggested on the basis of the findings, but a few recommendations can be made. Effective police investigation by itself may serve to prevent false confessions happening, but as obtaining a confession is one of the major objectives of police interviewing (Pearse, 1997) safeguards are important in order to decrease the risk of false confessions happening. It is important for the police to avoid the use of threatening or coercive interrogation tactics or improper psychological manipulation when

interviewing suspects and any safeguards regarding vulnerable suspects (i.e. juveniles, first offenders, psychologically disadvantaged individuals) are very important. In order to avoid *coerced-internalised* false confessions happening, and maybe also some *voluntary* false confessions, it is very important not to give the suspect any information during the police interrogation, which he can incorporate into a false confession, particularly if the suspect claims to have no memory of his movements because of heavy intoxication at the time of the offence. Audio tape-recording or even video tape-recording of police interviews is probably the most promising means of identifying false confessions of the coerced types, but as Cassell (1997) points out “The police recommendations for restricting police methods are misguided if the problem is *voluntary* false confessions” (p. 15) and of course these constitute almost the half of the claimed false confessions in this thesis.

Finally, the findings of the thesis strongly suggest that the sentencing practice in the Icelandic Courts should be reviewed. Being aware of the risk of false confessions among this group of personality disordered recidivists in Iceland, the courts should consider implementing safeguards in order to protect innocent defendants against the admission of false confession evidence in court and thereby prevent as far as possible a miscarriage of justice. The courts should look particularly into corroborative evidence when evaluating confession statements and compare them with objectively established crime facts. Being aware of the fact that false confessions happen and reliance on objective standards for evaluating a confession will decrease the risk of innocent suspects being wrongly convicted.

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Gudjonsson, G.H. and Sigurdsson, J.F. (1994). How frequently do false confessions occur? An empirical study among prison inmates. Psychology, Crime and Law, 1, 21-26.

Sigurdsson, J.F. and Gudjonsson, G.H. (1994). Alcohol and drug intoxication during police interrogation and the reasons why suspects confess to the police. Addiction, 89, 985-997.

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APPENDIX II

INSTRUMENTS

I.	Appendix II Instruments:	AII-2
1.	The Icelandic version of the Gudjonsson Confession Questionnaire Revised (GCQ-R).	AII-4
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5.	The Icelandic translation of the Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale (GSS 1).	AII-11
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GCQ spurningalistinn

Hér fyrir neðan eru nokkrar spurningar varðandi hvers vegna sumir játa afbrot, sem þeir hafa framið. Lestu hverja spurningu vandlega og settu hring utan um þá tölu sem best á við hvað varðar þína játningu.

	Alls ekki	Dálítið	Mjög
1. Hέλstu, að þú fengir að fara heim eftir játningu?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
2. Játaðirðu vegna þess að þú hafðir sektarkennd yfir afbrotinu?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
3. Fannst þér ástæðulaust að neita?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
4. Fannst þér að þú "þyrftir að létta á þér"?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
5. Hέλstu á þeirri stundu að þú fengir styttri dóm ef þú játaðir?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
6. Hέλstu að lögreglan myndi fyrr eða seinna sanna afbrotið á þig?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
7. Játaðirðu vegna þrýstings frá lögreglunni við yfirheyrslurnar?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
8. Hefðirðu játað þó að lögreglan grunaði þig ekki um afbrotið?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
9. Fannst þér að það væri best fyrir þína eigin hagsmuni að játa?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
10. Játaðirðu vegna þess að þú reiknaðir með að þeir sem voru meðsekir myndu tala? (Ef ekki er um meðseka að ræða, skaltu sleppa þessari spurningu.)	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
11. Játaðirðu í því augnamiði að hylma yfir öðrum?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
12. Ertu ánægð(ur) núna með að hafa játað?	1	2	2 4 5 6 7
13. Heldurðu að þú hefðir játað ef þú hefðir á þeirri stundu gert þér grein fyrir afleiðingum játningarinnar?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
14. Létti þér við að játa?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
15. Játaðirðu vegna hræðslu um hvað gerðist ef þú játaðir ekki?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
16. Varstu upphaflega mjög mikið á móti játningu meðan á yfirheyrslum stóð?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
17. Finnst þér að þú hafir játað of auðveldlega eða of fljótt?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
18. Finnst þér lögreglan hafi neytt þig til að játa?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
19. Varstu spenn(ur) eða taugaóstyrk(ur) meðan á yfirheyrslum lögreglunnar stóð?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
20. Var réttur þinn útskýrður fyrir þér?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7

Alls
ekki

Dálitð

Mjög

21.	Skildirðu á þeim tíma hver réttur þinn var?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.	Skildirðu aðvörun lögreglunnar um að framburður þinn kynni að verða notaður gegn þér?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.	Játaðirðu vegna þess að þú varst hrædd(ur) við að verða lokað/lokaður inni?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.	Varðstu rugluð/ruglaður meðan á yfirheyrslunum stóð?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25.	Finnst þér þú hafir játað vegna þess að þú réðir ekki nógu vel við yfirheyrslur lögreglunnar?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26.	Gerðu hugsanir um (eða samtöl við) fjölskyldu og vini þér erfiðara um játninguna?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27.	Sérðu núna eftir að hafa játað?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28.	Neitaðirðu afbrotinu í fyrstu?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29.	Urðu hugsanir um að þú yrðir af öðrum álitin(n) "glæpamaður" til þess að þér fannst erfiðara að játa?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30.	Játaðirðu vegna þess að þú þurftir að tala við einhvern?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31.	Játaðirðu vegna þess að þér fannst þú á þeim tíma þurfa hjálp?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32.	Var játningin erfið sökum þess að þú vildir ekki að aðrir vissu um afbrot þitt?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33.	Var játningin erfið vegna þess að þú gast ekki sætt þig við gjörðir þínar?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34.	Játaðirðu vegna þess að lögreglan sannfærði þig um að það væri réttast fyrir þig?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35.	Játaðirðu vegna þess að þú varst hræddur við lögregluna?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36.	Játaðirðu vegna þess að þér fannst á þeirri stundu tilgangslaust að neita?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37.	Játaðirðu af hræðslu við að lögreglan misþyrmdi þér ef þú játaðir ekki?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38.	Hefðirðu játað ef lögfræðingur hefði verið viðstaddur yfirheyrsluna? (Slepptu þessari spurningu ef lögfræðingur var viðstaddur).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39.	Gerðirðu of mikið úr eða ýktir þátttöku þína í afbrotinu við lögregluna?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40.	Áttir þú erfitt með að játa því þú skammaðist þín fyrir afbrotið?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Alls ekki	Dálstið	Mjög
	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
41. Játaðirðu vegna þess að þér fannst þú vera einangraður frá vinum þínum og fjölskyldu?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
42. Áttir þú erfitt með að játa því þú vildir forðast afleiðingarnar (t.d. vera dæmdur, fara í fangelsi)?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
43. Gerðirðu of lítið úr þátttöku þinni í afbrotinu við lögregluna?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
44. Játaðirðu vegna þess að þú varst staðin(n) að verki?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
45. Játaðirðu vegna þess að það var augljóst að þú hafðir framið afbrotið?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
46. Áttir þú erfitt með að játa vegna þess að þú vildir hylma yfir með öðrum aðila sem var líka viðriðinn afbrotið?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
47. Játaðirðu út af því að félagi þinn kom upp um þig?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
48. Varstu undir áhrifum áfengis þegar þú varst yfirheyrð(ur)?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
49. Varstu undir áhrifum annarra vímuefna þegar þú varst yfirheyrð(ur)?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
50. Fannstu fyrir fráhvarfseinkennum þegar þú varst yfirheyrð(ur)?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
51. Varstu undir áhrifum áfengis þegar þú framdir afbrotið?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
52. Varstu undir áhrifum annarra vímuefna þegar þú framdir afbrotið?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7

THE GUDJONSSON CONFESSION QUESTIONNAIRE-REVISED (GCQ-R)

Below are a number of questions concerning why some people confess to the offences that they have committed. Please read each question carefully and circle the number which applies best to your confession.

		Not at all		Somewhat			Very much	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Did you think that after confessing you would be allowed to go home?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	Did you confess because you felt guilty about the offence?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Did you believe that there was no point in denying it?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	Did you feel you wanted to get it off your chest?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	Did you think that you might get a lighter sentence if you confessed?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	Did you think the police would eventually prove you did it?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	Did you confess because of police pressure during the interview?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	Would you have confessed to the police if they had not suspected you of the crime?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	Did you think it was in your own interest to confess?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	Did you confess because you believed that your co-defendant(s) would implicate you?							
	(Please ignore this question if there were no co-defendants).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	Did you confess to protect somebody else?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	Are you now pleased that you confessed?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	Do you think you would have confessed if at the time you had fully realised the consequences of doing so?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	Did you experience a sense of relief after confessing?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	Did you confess because you were afraid about what would happen if you did not confess?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	Were you initially very unwilling to confess?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	Do you think you confessed to readily or hastily?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	Do you feel the police bullied you into confessing?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	Did you feel tense or nervous whilst being interviewed by the police?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	Were your rights explained to you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.	Did you at the time understand what your rights were?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.	Did you understand the Police Caution?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.	Did you confess because you were frightened of being locked up?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.	Did you become confused during the police interviews?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

25.	Did you feel you confessed because you did not cope well with the police interviews?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26.	Did thoughts (or talks with) your family and friends make it more difficult for you to confess?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27.	Do you now regret having confessed?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28.	Did you at first deny having committed the offence?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29.	Did the thought that you might be viewed by others as a 'criminal' make you less willing to confess?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30.	Did you confess because you had the need to talk to somebody?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31.	Did you confess because at the time you felt you needed help?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32.	Did you find it difficult to confess because you did not want others to know what you had done?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33.	Did you find it difficult to confess because you did not want to accept what you had done?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34.	Did you confess because the police persuaded you it was the right thing to do?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35.	Did you confess because you were frightened of the police?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36.	Did you confess because you saw no point in denying at the time?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37.	Did you confess because at the time you believed the police would beat you up if you did not confess?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38.	Would you have confessed if a solicitor had been present during the interrogation? (Please ignore this question if a solicitor was present during the interrogation).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39.	Did you exaggerate your involvement in the offence?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40.	Did you find it difficult to confess because you were ashamed about having committed the offence?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41.	Did you confess because you felt isolated from your family and friends?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42.	Did you find it difficult to confess because you wanted to avoid the consequences (e.g. be sentenced, go to prison)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43.	Did you minimise your involvement in the offence when interviewed by the police?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44.	Did you confess because you were apprehended committing the offence?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45.	Did you confess because it was obvious that you had committed the offence?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46.	Did you find it difficult to confess because you wanted to cover up the offence in order to protect a co-defendant?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47.	Did you confess because your co-defendant implicated you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48.	Were you under the influence of alcohol during the police interview?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49.	Were you under the influence of other intoxicating substances during the police interview?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50.	Did you experience withdrawal symptoms during the police interview?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51.	Were you under the influence of alcohol when you committed the offence?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52.	Were you under the influence of other intoxicating substances during the offence?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

GCS spurningalistinn

Gerðu svo vel að merkja með hring utan um S (sönn) eða Ó (ósönn) við eftirfarandi fullyrðingar eftir því hvort á betur við um þig:

	SÖNN	ÓSÖNN
1. Sem barn gerði ég alltaf eins og foreldrar mínir sögðu mér.	S	Ó
2. Ég gefst fljótlega upp gagnvart mótlæti.	S	Ó
3. Ég hef ekki áhyggjur af því hvað fólk hugsar um mig.	S	Ó
4. Ég verð fljótt óróleg(ur) og hrædd(ur) þegar ég er í návist yfirmanna.	S	Ó
5. Þegar ég var barn tók ég stundum á mig sökina fyrir aðra.	S	Ó
6. Þegar ég er óörugg(ur) hef ég tilhneigingu til þess að samþykkja það sem aðrir segja mér.	S	Ó
7. Ég hef tilhneigingu til að fylgja því sem aðrir segja mér jafnvel þó ég viti að þeir eru ekki að gera rétt.	S	Ó
8. Ég myndi lýsa sjálfri/sjálfum mér sem mjög hlýðinni manneskju.	S	Ó
9. Ég myndi aldrei fara eftir því sem aðrir segðu mér aðeins til að þóknast þeim.	S	Ó
10. Mér finnst mjög erfitt að segja fólki að ég sé því ósammála.	S	Ó
11. Ég gefst oft upp fyrir fólki sem heldur því fast fram að það hafi rétt fyrir sér.	S	Ó
12. Ég reyni mjög mikið að lenda ekki í útistöðum við valdamikið fólk.	S	Ó
13. Ég verst því sterklega að þurfa að gera eitthvað gegn vilja mínum.	S	Ó
14. Ég reyni yfirleitt að lenda ekki í andstöðu við fólk.	S	Ó
15. Ég reyni að láta fólki líka vel við mig.	S	Ó
16. Fólk í áhrifastöðum gerir mig órólega(n) og lætur mér líða illa.	S	Ó
17. Ég reyni eins og ég get að gera það sem ætlast er til af mér.	S	Ó
18. Það tekur oft svo mikinn tíma að vera ósammála fólki að það er ekki þess virði.	S	Ó
19. Ég reyni yfirleitt að gera eins og mér er sagt.	S	Ó
20. Mér finnst það réttara að forðast erfiðleika heldur en að mæta þeim.	S	Ó

THE GCS (Form D)

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is *true* or *false* as it applies to you personally. If the statement is true as applied to you then circle "T"; if it is false as applied to you then circle "F"

1.	As a child I always did as my parents told me.	T	F
2.	I give in easily when I am pressured.	T	F
3.	I am not too concerned what people think of me.	T	F
4.	I tend to become easily alarmed and frightened when in the company of people in authority.	T	F
5.	When I was a child I sometimes took the blame for things I had not done.	T	F
6.	When I am uncertain about things I tend to accept what people tell me.	T	F
7.	I tend to go along with what people tell me even when I know that they are wrong.	T	F
8.	I would describe myself as a very obedient person.	T	F
9.	I would never go along with what people tell me in order to please them.	T	F
10.	I find it very difficult to tell people when I disagree with them.	T	F
11.	I tend to give in to people who insist that they are right.	T	F
12.	I try very hard not to offend people in authority.	T	F
13.	I strongly resist being pressured to do things I don't want to do.	T	F
14.	I generally tend to avoid confrontation with people.	T	F
15.	I try to please others.	T	F
16.	People in authority make me feel uncomfortable and uneasy.	T	F
17.	I try hard to do what is expected of me.	T	F
18.	Disagreeing with people often takes more time than it is worth.	T	F
19.	I generally believe in doing as I am told.	T	F
20.	I believe in avoiding rather than facing demanding situations.	T	F

GSS 1

Dagsetning: _____

Númer viðfangs: _____

Anna Tómasdóttir/ úr Efra/ Breiðholti/ var í sólarlandaferð/ á Spáni/

þegar ráðist var á hana/ fyrir utan hótelið/ og handtösku hennar stolið/

sem í voru 2000 krónur/ í ferðatékkum/ og vegabréfið hennar./

Hún hrópaði á hjálp/ og reyndi að streytast á móti/ með því að sparka í fótleggina/ á einum árásarmannanna./

✓ Fljótlega kom lögreglubíll/ og konan var flutt á næstu lögreglustöð/

þar sem hún var yfirheyrð af Delgado/ yfirmanni/ í rannsóknarlögregluhni./

Konan skýrði frá því að þrír menn hafi ráðist á sig/ og einn þeirra hefði litið út eins og austurlandabúi./ Mennina kvað hún vera grannvaxna/ og rúmlega tvítuga./

Rannsóknarlögreglumaðurinn var snortinn af frásögn konunnar/ og ráðlagði henni að hafa samband við íslenska ræðismanninn./

Sex dögum seinna/ fann lögreglan handtösku konunnar/ en innihaldið var horfið./

Þrír menn voru síðar ákærðir/ tveir þeirra fundnir sekir/ og dæmdir til fangelsisvistar./

Aðeins einn/ hafði áður verið fundinn sekur/ fyrir svipuð afbrot./

Konan sneri aftur til Íslands/ ásamt manni sínum/ Jónasi/ og tveimur vinum/ en varð eftir þetta hrædd við að vera ein á ferð./

R=

Leiðbeiningar gefnar af spyrli:

1. Áður en sagan er lesin upp: "Mig langar að biðja þig að hlusta á stutta sögu. Hlustaðu vandlega, því þegar ég er búin(n) langar mig til að biðja þig að segja mér allt sem þú manst".

2. Eftir að sagan hefur verið lesin upp: "Segðu mér nú allt sem þú manst úr sögunni".

GSS 1

	Y ₁	S	Y ₂
1. Hét maður konunnar Jónas?	_____	_____	_____
2. Átti konan eitt eða tvö börn?	_____	_____	_____
3. Brotnuðu gleraugu konunnar í árásinni?	_____	_____	_____
4. Hét konan Anna Hjálmarsdóttir?	_____	_____	_____
5. Var konan yfirheyrð af yfirmanni í rannsóknarlögreglunni?	_____	_____	_____
6. Voru árásarmennirnir svartir eða hvítir?	_____	_____	_____
7. Var farið með konuna á höfuðstöðvar lögreglunnar?	_____	_____	_____
8. Skemmdist handtaska konunnar í árásinni?	_____	_____	_____
9. Var konan í sólarlandaferð á Spáni?	_____	_____	_____
10. Voru árásarmennirnir dæmdir sex vikum eftir handtökuna?	_____	_____	_____
11. Studdi eiginmaður konunnar hana í viðtalinu við lögregluna?	_____	_____	_____
12. Lamdi konan einn árásarmannanna með hnefanum eða handtöskunni?	_____	_____	_____
13. Bjó konan í Efra-Breiðholti?	_____	_____	_____
14. Hrópaði einn árásarmannanna á konuna?	_____	_____	_____
15. Voru árásarmennirnir hávaxnir eða lágvaxnir?	_____	_____	_____
16. Hræddust árásarmennirnir hróp konunnar?	_____	_____	_____
17. Hét lögregluþjónninn Delgado?	_____	_____	_____
18. Ók lögreglan konunni aftur heim á hótelið?	_____	_____	_____
19. Voru árásarmennirnir vopnaðir hnífum eða byssum?	_____	_____	_____
20. Rifnuðu fót konunnar í árásinni?	_____	_____	_____

Y₁=

S=

T=

Y₂=

Leiðbeiningar gefnar af spyrli:

1. Eftir að sagan hefur verið rifjuð upp: "Ég ætla að spyrja þig nokkurra spurninga varðandi söguna. Reyndu að vera eins nákvæm(ur) eins og þú getur".
2. Eftir að viðfang hefur svarað öllum spurningunum: "Þú gerðir mikið af villum (í ávítunartón). Þess vegna er nauðsynlegt að fara yfir spurningarnar einu sinni enn. Reyndu nú að vera nákvæmari í svörum"

IMMEDIATE RECALL ON THE GSS 1

Anna Thomson/ of South/ Croydon/ was on holiday/ in Spain/ when she was held up/ outside her hotel/ and robbed of her handbag/ which contained £50 worth/ of travellers cheques/ and her passport./ She screamed for help/ and attempted to put up a fight/ by kicking one of the assailants/ in the shins./ A police car shortly arrived/ and the woman was taken to the nearest police station/ where she was interviewed by Detective/ Sergeant/ Delgado./ The woman reported that she had been attacked by three men/ one of whom she described as oriental looking./ The men were said to be slim/ and in their early twenties./ The police officer was touched by the woman's story/ and advised her to contact the British Embassy./ Six days later/ the police recovered the woman's handbag/ but the contents were never found./ Three men were subsequently charged/ two of whom were convicted/ and given prison sentences./ Only one/ had previous convictions/ for similar offences./ The woman returned to Britain/ with her husband/ Simon/ and two friends/ but remained frightened of being out on her own./

SCORES		
Memory recall	=	(max. 40)
Distortions	=	(D1)
Fabrications	=	(F1)
Total Confabulations*	=	(TC1)
*The total of D1 + F1.		

TEST ADMINISTRATOR'S NOTES

GSS 1 SCORING SHEET

Questions		Yielded to 1 (#)	Answers Yield 1	Yielded to 2 (#)	Answers Yield 2	Shift (S)
1.	Did the woman have a husband called Simon?					
2.	Did the woman have one or two children?					
3.	Did the woman's glasses break in the struggle?					
4.	Was the woman's name Anna Wilkinson?					
5.	Was the woman interviewed by a detective sergeant?					
6.	Were the assailants black or white?					
7.	Was the woman taken to the central police station?					
8.	Did the woman's handbag get damaged in the struggle?					
9.	Was the woman on holiday in Spain?					
10.	Were the assailants convicted six weeks after their arrest?					
11.	Did the woman's husband support her during the police interview?					
12.	Did the woman hit one of the assailants with her fist or handbag?					
13.	Was the woman from South Croydon?					
14.	Did one of the assailants shout at the woman?					
15.	Were the assailants tall or short?					
16.	Did the woman's screams frighten the assailants?					
17.	Was the police officer's name Delgado?					
18.	Did the police give the woman a lift back to her hotel?					
19.	Were the assailants armed with knives?					
20.	Did the woman's clothes get torn in the struggle?					

SCORES		
Yield 1	=	(max. 15)
Yield 2	=	(max. 15)
Shift	=	(max. 20)
Total Suggestibility*	=	(max. 35)
*The total of Yield 1 + Shift.		

NON-STANDARD RESPONSES	
=	
=	
=	
=	

Gough spurningalistinn

Hér fyrir neðan er listi af fullyrðingum. Lestu hverja fullyrðingu vandlega og taktu síðan afstöðu til þess, hvort hún er sönn eða ósönn hvað varðar þig persónulega. Ef fullyrðing er sönn eins og hún kemur þér fyrir sjónir, þá settu hring utan um S, ef hún er að þínu mati ósönn, þá seturðu hring utan um Ó.

	SÖNN	ÓSÖNN
1. Mér finnst oft að ég hafi valið rangt starf.	S	Ó
2. Ég skrópaði alloft úr skóla.	S	Ó
3. Það mætti mana mig til að gera næstum hvað sem er.	S	Ó
4. Ég hef alltaf verið mjög óheppin(n).	S	Ó
5. Eins og hlutirnir ganga fyrir sig er erfitt að halda í vonina um að eitthvað verði úr mér.	S	Ó
6. Ég held að ég sé strangari en flestir um hvað er rétt og hvað er rangt.	S	Ó
7. Ég er fremur myrkfælin(n).	S	Ó
8. Ég verð mjög sjaldan æst(ur) eða gagntekin(n).	S	Ó
9. Foreldrum mínum hefur oft ekki geðjast að vinum mínum.	S	Ó
10. Heimilislíf mitt var alltaf hamingjusamt.	S	Ó
11. Ég geri hlutina oft fyrirvaralaust án þess að hugsa.	S	Ó
12. Foreldrar mínir hafa almennt látið mig um að taka eigin ákvarðanir.	S	Ó
13. Ég myndi heldur vera án einhvers en að biðja um greiða.	S	Ó
14. Ég hef fengið minn skerf af áhyggjum.	S	Ó
15. Þegar ég hitti ókunnuga persónu finnst mér hún oft vera betri en ég.	S	Ó
16. Áður en ég geri eitthvað reyni ég að hugsa um hvernig vinir mínir muni bregðast við.	S	Ó
17. Ég hef aldrei komist í kast við lögin.	S	Ó

	SÖNN	ÓSÖNN
18. Meðan ég var í skóla var ég stundum send(ur) til skólastjórans vegna hegðunarvandkvæða.	S	Ó
19. Ég legg allt í sölurnar til að komast hjá vandræðum.	S	Ó
20. Ég er yfirleitt hamingjusöm/hamingjusamur.	S	Ó
21. Mér finnst oft eins og ég hafi gert eitthvað rangt eða syndsamlegt.	S	Ó
22. Ég á erfitt með að hegða mér eðlilega innan um ókunnugt fólk.	S	Ó
23. Ég hef oft gengið þvert á vilja foreldra minna.	S	Ó
24. Ég hugsa oft um útlit mitt og hvernig ég kem öðru fólki fyrir sjónir.	S	Ó
25. Ég hef aldrei drukkið illa.	S	Ó
26. Mér finnst auðvelt að rjúfa tengsl eða "hætta" við vini.	S	Ó
27. Ég verð taugaóstyrk(ur) þegar ég þarf að biðja einhvern um vinnu.	S	Ó
28. Stundum langaði mig að flytja að heiman.	S	Ó
29. Ég hef aldrei áhyggjur af útliti mínu.	S	Ó
30. Ég hef lent í vandræðum einu sinni eða oftar vegna kynhegðunar minnar.		S
31. Ég geri í því að lenda í vandræðum frekar en að reyna að forðast þau.	S	Ó
32. Heimilislíf mitt var alltaf mjög ánægjulegt.	S	Ó
33. Ég iðrast oftar gerða minna en annað fólk.	S	Ó
34. Borðsiðir mínir eru ekki eins góðir heima og þegar ég borða með öðru fólki úti.	S	Ó
35. Fólk á nokkuð auðvelt með að sigra mig í rökræðum.	S	Ó
36. Ég veit hver er ábyrgur fyrir flestum minna vandræða.	S	Ó
37. Lögin valda mér stundum vonbrigðum þegar snjall lögfræðingur fær glæpamann sýknaðan.	S	Ó

	SÖNN	ÓSÖNN
38. Ég hef ofnotað áfengi.	S	Ó
39. Jafnvel þegar ég hef lent í vandræðum hef ég verið að reyna að breyta rétt.	S	Ó
40. Mér er mjög mikilvægt að eiga nóga vini og félagslíf.	S	Ó
41. Mig langaði stundum að hlaupast að heiman.	S	Ó
42. Lífið hefur venjulega valdið mér miklum vonbrigðum.	S	Ó
43. Fólk baktalar mig oft.	S	Ó
44. Ég myndi aldrei spila (póker) við ókunnuga.	S	Ó
45. Ég held að ég sé ekki eins hamingjusöm/hamingjusamur og aðrir virðast vera.	S	Ó
46. Þegar ég var yngri stal ég stundum.	S	Ó
47. Heimilislíf mitt í barnæsku var ekki eins friðsamlegt og hljóðlátt og hjá flestu öðru fólki.	S	Ó
48. Jafnvel tilhugsunin um að tala opinberlega gerir mig hrædda(n).	S	Ó
49. Ég olli kennurum mínum miklum vandræðum þegar ég var í barnaskóla.	S	Ó
50. Fyrir gott kaup hefði ég áhuga á að ferðast með sirkus eða tívolí.	S	Ó
51. Mér féll aldrei að vera í skóla.	S	Ó
52. Náið samband var alltaf milli fjölskyldumeðlima minna.	S	Ó
53. Foreldrar mínir skildu mig raunverulega aldrei.	S	Ó
54. Maður er betur settur ef maður treystir engum.	S	Ó

The Gough SO Scale

Listed below are a number of statements. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it applies to you personally. If the statement is true as applied to you then circle T; if it is false as applied to you then circle F.

	<u>TRUE</u>	<u>FALSE</u>
1. I often feel that I made a wrong choice in my occupation.	T	F
2. When I was going to school I truanted quite often.	T	F
3. I would do almost anything for a dare.	T	F
4. I have always had a lot of bad luck.	T	F
5. With things going as they are, it's pretty hard to keep up hope of amounting to something.	T	F
6. I think I am stricter about right and wrong than most people.	T	F
7. I am somewhat afraid of the dark.	T	F
8. I hardly ever get excited or thrilled.	T	F
9. My parents have often disapproved of my friends.	T	F
10. My home life was always happy.	T	F
11. I often act on the spur of the moment without stopping to think.	T	F
12. My parents have generally let me make my own decisions.	T	F
13. I would rather go without something than ask for a favour.	T	F
14. I have had more than my share of things to worry about.	T	F
15. When I meet a stranger I often think that he is better than I am.	T	F
16. Before I do something I try to consider how my friends will react to it.	T	F
17. I have never been in trouble with the law.	T	F
18. In school I was sometimes sent to the principal for misbehaving.	T	F
19. I keep out of trouble at all costs.	T	F
20. Most of the time I feel happy.	T	F
21. I often feel as though I have done something wrong or wicked.	T	F
22. It is hard for me to act natural when I am with new people.	T	F

	<u>TRUE</u>	<u>FA</u>
23. I have often gone against my parents' wishes.	T	
24. I often think about how I look and what impression I am making upon others.	T	
25. I have never done any heavy drinking.	T	
26. I find it easy to "drop" or "break with" a friend.	T	
27. I get nervous when I have to ask someone for a job.	T	
28. Sometimes I used to feel that I would like to leave home.	T	
29. I never worry about my looks.	T	
30. I have been in trouble one or more times because of my sex behaviour.	T	
31. I go out of my way to meet trouble rather than try to escape it.	T	
32. My home life was always very pleasant.	T	
33. I seem to do things that I regret more often than other people do.	T	
34. My table manners are not quite as good at home as when I am out in company.	T	
35. It is pretty easy for people to win arguments with me.	T	
36. I know who is responsible for most of my troubles.	T	
37. I get pretty discouraged with the law when a smart lawyer gets a criminal free.	T	
38. I have used alcohol excessively.	T	
39. Even when I have got into trouble I was usually trying to do the right thing.	T	
40. It is very important to me to have enough friends and social life.	T	
41. I sometimes wanted to run away from home.	T	
42. Life usually hands me a pretty raw deal.	T	
43. People often talk about me behind my back.	T	
44. I would never play cards (poker) with a stranger.	T	
45. I don't think I'm quite as happy as others seem to be.	T	
46. I used to steal sometimes when I was a youngster.	T	

	<u>TRUE</u>	<u>FALSE</u>
47. My home as a child was less peaceful and quiet than those of most other people.	T	F
48. Even the idea of giving a talk in public makes me afraid.	T	F
49. As a youngster in school I used to give the teachers lots of trouble.	T	F
50. If the pay was right I would like to travel with a circus or carnival.	T	F
51. I never cared much for school.	T	F
52. The members of my family were always very close to each other.	T	F
53. My parents never really understood me.	T	F
54. A person is better off if he doesn't trust anyone.	T	F

E.P.Q.

PERSÓNULEIKA SPURNINGALISTI

NAFN:.....

ALDUR.....KYN.....

LEIÐBEININGAR

Gerðu svo vel að svara hverri spurningu með því að SETJA HRING UTAN UM ANNADHVORT JÁ EÐA NEI aftan við spurninguna. Engin rétt eða röng svör eru til við þessum spurningum og engum þeirra er ætlað að blekkja þig. Hafðu hraðan á og hugsaðu ekki of lengi um nákvæma merkingu hverrar spurningar.

MUNID AD SVARA HVERRI EINUSTU SPURNINGU

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|-----|
| 1 | Hefur þú mörg og mismunandi áhugamál?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 2 | Hugsar þú þig um áður en þú framkvæmir eitthvað?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 3 | Liggur oft mjög misjafnlega vel á þér?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 4 | Hefur þú einhvern tíma látið hrósa þér fyrir eitthvað sem þú vissir að einhver annar hafði gert?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 5 | Ert þú málgefin(n)?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 6 | Ylli það þér áhyggjum ef þú værir skuldug(ur)?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 7 | Kemur fyrir að þú sért "alveg miður þín" að tilefnislausu?.. | JÁ | NEI |
| 8 | Hefur þú einhvern tíma verið ágjörn(ágjarn) og tekið meira en þér bar af einhverju?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 9 | Læsir þú vandlega heimili þínu yfir nóttina?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 10 | Ert þú frekar glaðvær?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 11 | Kæmist þú í mikið uppnám ef þú sæir barn eða dýr þjást?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 12 | Hefur þú oft áhyggjur vegna einhvers sem þú hefur ekki átt að gera eða segja?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 13 | Ef þú segist ætla að gera eitthvað, stendur þú þá alltaf við loforð þitt, hversu óþægilegt sem það gæti verið?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 14 | Hefur þú gaman af fallhlífurstökki?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 15 | Getur þú venjulega gefið þér lausan tauminn og skemmt þér í fjörugum samkvæmum?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 16 | Fer margoft í taugarnar á þér?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 17 | Hefur þú einhvern tíma ásakað einhvern um eitthvað sem þú vissir að var í raun og veru þín sök?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 18 | Hefur þú gaman af að kynnast fólki sem þú hefur ekki hitt áður?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 19 | Hefur þú trú á gagnsemi trygginga?..... | JÁ | NEI |

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|-----|
| 20 | Er auðvelt að særa þig?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 21 | Eru allar venjur þínar góðar og æskilegar?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 22 | Hefur þú þig lítið í frammí á mannamótum?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 23 | Myndir þú taka inn lyf sem gætu haft undarleg eða
hættuleg áhrif?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 24 | Færð þú þig oft alveg fullsadda(n) af einhverju?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 25 | Hefur þú einhvern tíma hnuplað einhverju (jafnvel títu-
prjóni eða hnapp) sem annar átti?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 26 | Hefur þú gaman af að sækja oft skemmtanir?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 27 | Nýtur þú þess að særa þá sem þér þykir vænt um?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 28 | Veldur sektarkennd þér oft áhyggjum?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 29 | Talar þú stundum um það sem þú veist ekkert um?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 30 | Vilt þú heldur lesa en blanda geði við fólk?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 31 | Átt þú þér óvildarmenn sem vilja þér illt?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 32 | Telur þú sjálfa(n) þig taugaóstyrka(n)?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 33 | Biðst þú alltaf afsökunar þegar þú hefur verið dónaleg(ur)? | JÁ | NEI |
| 34 | Átt þú marga vini?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 35 | Hefur þú gaman af hrekkjabrögðum sem gætu skaðað fólk?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 36 | Ert þú ein(n) af þeim sem hefur alltaf áhyggjur?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 37 | Gerðir þú eins og þér var sagt, strax og umyrðalaust,
þegar þú varst barn?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 38 | Ert þú ein(n) af þeim sem eru kærulausir og treysta
á guð og lukkuna?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 39 | Skipta hreinlæti og góðir siðir þig miklu máli?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 40 | Hefur þú áhyggjur af hræðilegum atburðum sem gætu gerst?.... | JÁ | NEI |
| 41 | Hefur þú einhvern tíma skemmt eða týnt einhverju
sem einhver annar átti?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 42 | Átt þú venjulega frumkvæðið að því að eignast nýja vini?.... | JÁ | NEI |
| 43 | Skilur þú vel hvernig fólk líður þegar það segir
þér frá vandræðum sínum?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 44 | Telur þú þig spennanta(n) eða "eins og á nálum"?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 45 | Fleygir þú bréfarusli á gólfíð þegar engin bréfakarfa
er nærri?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 46 | Ert þú fámál(1) innan um annað fólk?..... | JÁ | NEI |
| 47 | Finnast þér hjónabönd gamaldags og þau ætti að leggja niður? | JÁ | NEI |
| 48 | Finnur þú stundum til sjálfsvorkunnar?..... | JÁ | NEI |

- 49 Ert þú stundum dálítið montin(n)?.....JÁ NEI
- 50 Getur þú auðveldlega hleypt lífi í dauft samkvæmi?.....JÁ NEI
- 51 Fer fólk sem ekur varlega í taugarnar á þér?.....JÁ NEI
- 52 Hefur þú áhyggjur af heilsu þinni?.....JÁ NEI
- 53 Hefur þú einhverntíma sagt eitthvað ljótt eða andstyggilegt um einhvern?.....JÁ NEI
- 54 Finnst þér gaman að segja vinum þínum brandara og hlægilegar sögur?.....JÁ NEI
- 55 Finnst þér sama bragð af flestu?.....JÁ NEI
- 56 Ferð þú stundum í fýlu?.....JÁ NEI
- 57 Varst þú einhvern tíma frek(ur) við foreldra þína þegar þú varst barn?.....JÁ NEI
- 58 Kannt þú vel við þig innan um fólk?.....JÁ NEI
- 59 Veldur það þér áhyggjum ef þú veist að þér verða á mistök við vinnu þína?.....JÁ NEI
- 60 Þjáist þú af svefnleysi?.....JÁ NEI
- 61 Þværð þú þér um hendur á undan hverri máltíð?.....JÁ NEI
- 62 Hefur þú oftast svar á reiðum höndum þegar talað er til þín?JÁ NEI
- 63 Ef þú þarft að mæta einhvers staðar vilt þú þá koma mjög snemma?.....JÁ NEI
- 64 Hefur þér oft fundist þú vera daufr(ur) og þreytt(ur) að ástæðulausu?.....JÁ NEI
- 65 Hefur þú einhvern tíma haft rangt við í spili eða leik?.....JÁ NEI
- 66 Finnst þér gaman að því sem krefst skjótra viðbragða?.....JÁ NEI
- 67 Er (eða var) móðir þín góð kona?.....JÁ NEI
- 68 Finnst þér lífið oft mjög leiðinlegt?.....JÁ NEI
- 69 Hefur þú einhvern tíma misnotað einhvern?.....JÁ NEI
- 70 Færir þú oft meira í fang en þú hefur tíma til að sinna?....JÁ NEI
- 71 Reyna margir sífellt að forðast þig?.....JÁ NEI
- 72 Hefur þú miklar áhyggjur af útliti þínu?.....JÁ NEI
- 73 Ert þú alltaf kurteis jafnvel við ónotalegt fólk?.....JÁ NEI
- 74 Finnst þér fólk eyða of miklum tíma í að tryggja framtíð sína með sparnaði og tryggingum?.....JÁ NEI
- 75 Hefur þú einhvern tíma óskað þess að þú værir dái(n)?.....JÁ NEI
- 76 Kæmir þú þér undan að borga skatta ef þú værir viss um að það kæmist aldrei upp?.....JÁ NEI
- 77 Getur þú hresst upp leiðinlegt samkvæmi?.....JÁ NEI

- 78 Reynir þú að vera ekki dónaleg(ur) við fólk?.....JÁ NEI
- 79 Hefur þú of lengi áhyggjur eftir að hafa lent í niðurlægjandi lífsreynslu?.....JÁ NEI
- 80 Hefur þú einhvern tíma krafist þess að mál þitt næði fram að ganga?.....JÁ NEI
- 81 Ert þú oft á síðasta snúningi þegar þú nærð í strætisvagn?..JÁ NEI
- 82 Ert þú taugaveiklaður/uð?.....JÁ NEI
- 83 Hefur þú einhvern tíma sagt eitthvað viljandi til þess að sára tilfinningar annars manns?.....JÁ NEI
- 84 Er þér illa við að vera með fólki sem gerir hvert öðru meinlausar glettur?.....JÁ NEI
- 85 Rofnar vinátta þín við aðra auðveldlega án þess að það sé þín sök?.....JÁ NEI
- 86 Finnst þér þú oft vera einmana?.....JÁ NEI
- 87 Er hegðun þín alltaf í samræmi við það sem þú ráðleggur öðrum?.....JÁ NEI
- 88 Finnst þér stundum gaman að stríða dýrum?.....JÁ NEI
- 89 Sárnar þér auðveldlega þegar menn finna að þér eða verkum þínum?.....JÁ NEI
- 90 Fyndist þér lífið of tilbreytingarsnautt ef það byggir ekki yfir einhverjum hættum?.....JÁ NEI
- 91 Hefur þú einhvern tíma komið of seint í vinnu eða á stefnumót?.....JÁ NEI
- 92 Finnst þér gaman að hafa líf og fjör í kringum þig?.....JÁ NEI
- 93 Vildir þú að aðrir óttuðust þig?.....JÁ NEI
- 94 Ert þú ýmist hress og kát(ur) eða dauf(ur) í dálkinn?.....JÁ NEI
- 95 Frestar þú stundum til morguns því sem þú ættir að gera í dag?.....JÁ NEI
- 96 Finnst öðrum þú vera mjög fjörug(ur)?.....JÁ NEI
- 97 Ljúga menn mikið að þér?.....JÁ NEI
- 98 Ert þú viðkvæm(ur) fyrir sumu?.....JÁ NEI
- 99 Ert þú alltaf reiðubúin(n) að viðurkenna mistök þín?.....JÁ NEI
- 100 Myndir þú verkenna mikið dýri sem sæti fast í gildru?.....JÁ NEI
- 101 Var það þér á móti skapi að fylla út þetta eyðublað?.....JÁ NEI

GERÐU SVO VEL AÐ ATHUGA HVORT ÞÚ HEFUR SVARAÐ ÖLLUM SPURNINGUNUM

P ☐ E ☐ N ☐ L ☐
1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐

PERSONALITY QUESTIONNAIRE

OCCUPATION_____ AGE_____ SEX_____

INSTRUCTIONS

Please answer each question by putting a circle around the "YES" or the "NO" following the question. There are no right or wrong answers, and no trick questions. Work quickly and do not think too long about the exact meaning of the question.

PLEASE REMEMBER TO ANSWER EACH QUESTION

1. Do you have many different hobbies?_____YES NO
2. Do you stop to think things over before doing anything?_____YES NO
3. Does your mood often go up and down?_____YES NO
4. Have you ever taken the praise for something you knew someone else had really done?_____YES NO
5. Are you a talkative person?_____YES NO
6. Would being in debt worry you?_____YES NO
7. Do you ever feel "just miserable" for no reason?_____YES NO
8. Were you ever greedy by helping yourself to more than your share of anything?_____YES NO
9. Do you lock up your house carefully at night?_____YES NO
10. Are you rather lively?_____YES NO
11. Would it upset you a lot to see a child or an animal suffer?_____YES NO
12. Do you often worry about things you should not have done or said?_____YES NO
13. If you say you will do something, do you always keep your promise no matter how inconvenient it might be?_____YES NO
14. Would you enjoy parachute jumping?_____YES NO
15. Can you usually let yourself go and enjoy yourself at a lively party?_____YES NO
16. Are you an irritable person?_____YES NO
17. Have you ever blamed someone for doing something you knew was really your fault?_____YES NO
18. Do you enjoy meeting new people?_____YES NO
19. Do you believe insurance schemes are a good idea?_____YES NO
20. Are your feelings easily hurt?_____YES NO
21. Are all your habits good and desirable ones?_____YES NO
22. Do you tend to keep in the background on social occasions?_____YES NO
23. Would you take drugs which may have strange or dangerous effects?_____YES NO
24. Do you often feel "fed-up"?_____YES NO
25. Have you ever taken anything (even a pin or button) that belonged to someone else?_____YES NO
26. Do you like going out a lot?_____YES NO
27. Do you enjoy hurting people you love?_____YES NO

(Please turn over)

28. Are you often troubled about feelings of guilt?_____YES NO
29. Do you sometimes talk about things you know nothing about?_____YES NO
30. Do you prefer reading to meeting people?_____YES NO
31. Do you have enemies who want to harm you?_____YES NO
32. Would you call yourself a nervous person?_____YES NO
33. Do you always say you are sorry when you have been rude?_____YES NO
34. Do you have many friends?_____YES NO
35. Do you enjoy practical jokes that can sometimes really hurt people?_____YES NO
36. Are you a worrier?_____YES NO
37. As a child did you do as you were told immediately and without
grumbling?_____YES NO
38. Would you call yourself happy-go-lucky?_____YES NO
39. Do good manners and cleanliness matter much to you?_____YES NO
40. Do you worry about awful things that might happen?_____YES NO
41. Have you ever broken or lost something belonging to someone else?_____YES NO
42. Do you usually take the initiative in making new friends?_____YES NO
43. Can you easily understand the way people feel when they tell you
their troubles?_____YES NO
44. Would you call yourself tense or "highly-strung"?_____YES NO
45. Do you throw waste paper on the floor when there is no waste paper
basket handy?_____YES NO
46. Are you mostly quiet when you are with other people?_____YES NO
47. Do you think marriage is old-fashioned and should be done away with?_____YES NO
48. Do you feel self pity now and again?_____YES NO
49. Do you sometimes boast a little?_____YES NO
50. Can you easily get some life into a rather dull party?_____YES NO
51. Do people who drive carefully annoy you?_____YES NO
52. Do you worry about your health?_____YES NO
53. Have you ever said anything bad or nasty about anyone?_____YES NO
54. Do you like telling jokes and funny stories to your friends?_____YES NO
55. Do most things taste the same to you?_____YES NO
56. Do you sometimes sulk?_____YES NO
57. As a child were you ever cheeky to your parents?_____YES NO
58. Do you like mixing with people?_____YES NO
59. Does it worry you if you know there are mistakes in your work?_____YES NO
60. Do you suffer from sleeplessness?_____YES NO
61. Do you always wash before a meal?_____YES NO
62. Do you nearly always have a "ready answer" when people talk to you?_____YES NO
63. Do you like to arrive at appointments in plenty of time?_____YES NO
64. Have you often felt listless and tired for no reason?_____YES NO
65. Have you ever cheated at a game?_____YES NO

66. Do you like doing things in which you have to act quickly?_____YES NO
67. Is (or was) your mother a good woman?_____YES NO
68. Do you often feel life is very dull?_____YES NO
69. Have you ever taken advantage of someone?_____YES NO
70. Do you often take on more activities than you have time for?_____YES NO
71. Are there several people who keep trying to avoid you?_____YES NO
72. Do you worry a lot about your looks?_____YES NO
73. Are you always polite even to unpleasant people?_____YES NO
74. Do you think people spend too much time safeguarding their future
with savings and insurances?_____YES NO
75. Have you ever wished that you were dead?_____YES NO
76. Would you dodge paying taxes if you were sure you could never be
found out?_____YES NO
77. Can you get a party going?_____YES NO
78. Do you try not to be rude to people?_____YES NO
79. Do you worry too long after an embarrassing experience?_____YES NO
80. Have you ever insisted on having your own way?_____YES NO
81. When you catch a train do you often arrive at the last minute?_____YES NO
82. Do you suffer from "nerves"?_____YES NO
83. Have you ever deliberately said something to hurt someone's feelings?_____YES NO
84. Do you hate being with a crowd who play harmless jokes on one
another?_____YES NO
85. Do your friendships break up easily without it being your fault?_____YES NO
86. Do you often feel lonely?_____YES NO
87. Do you always practice what you preach?_____YES NO
88. Do you sometimes like teasing animals?_____YES NO
89. Are you easily hurt when people find fault with you or the work you do?_____YES NO
90. Would life with no danger in it be too dull for you?_____YES NO
91. Have you ever been late for an appointment or work?_____YES NO
92. Do you like plenty of bustle and excitement around you?_____YES NO
93. Would you like other people to be afraid of you?_____YES NO
94. Are you sometimes bubbling over with energy and sometimes very
sluggish?_____YES NO
95. Do you sometimes put off until tomorrow what you ought to do today?_____YES NO
96. Do other people think of you as being very lively?_____YES NO
97. Do people tell you a lot of lies?_____YES NO
98. Are you touchy about some things?_____YES NO
99. Are you always willing to admit it when you have made a mistake?_____YES NO
100. Would you feel very sorry for an animal caught in a trap?_____YES NO
101. Did you mind filling in this form?_____YES NO

PLEASE CHECK TO SEE THAT YOU HAVE ANSWERED ALL THE QUESTIONS

Form 6

SDQ spurningalistinn

Hér fyrir neðan eru nokkrar almennar spurningar varðandi þig sjálfan. Lestu hverja spurningu vandlega og settu hring utan um þá tölu sem á best við þig hverju sinni.

	Alls ekki	Dálítið	Mjög				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Hefurðu einhvern tímann hatað foreldra þína?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Finnur þú einhvern tímann til sektarkenndar?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Hafa allir aðlaðandi einstaklingar af gagnstæðu kyni æsandi áhrif á þig?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Hefur þig langað til að myrða einhvern?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Reiðist þú einhvern tímann?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Hefurðu oft hugsanir sem þú vilt ekki að aðrir viti um?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Hefur þú einhvern tímann hrifist af samkynja einstaklingi?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Hefurðu einhvern tímann gert sjálfa(n) þig að fífl?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Er eitthvað í lífi þínu sem gerir þig óhamingjusama(n)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Er þér það mikilvægt að aðrir hafi mikið álit á þér?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Langar þig að vita hvað öðru fólki finnst um þig?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Voru foreldrar þínir einhvern tímann vondir við þig?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Áttu einhverjar slæmar minningar?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Hefur það einhvern tímann hvarflað að þér að foreldra þínir hati þig?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Hefur þú kynferðislega hugaróra?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Hefurðu einhvern tímann verið í vafa um kynhneigð þína?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Hefurðu einhvern tímann efast um kyngetu þína?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Hefur þú einhvern tímann notið þess að hafa hægðir?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Hefur þig einhvern tímann langað að nauðga manneskju eða vera sjálfum/sjálfri nauðgað?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Hefur þig einhvern tímann langað til að fremja sjálfsmorð í hefndarskyni?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Number _____

SDQ

Not
At
All Somewhat Very
 So

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1. Have you ever felt hatred toward any of your parents?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Do you ever feel guilty?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. Does every attractive person of the opposite sex turn you on?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Have you ever felt like you wanted to kill somebody?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. Do you ever get angry?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Do you have thoughts that you don't want other people to know that you have?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Do you ever feel attracted to people of the same sex?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Have you ever made a fool of yourself?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. Are there any things in your life which make you very unhappy?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Is it important to you that other people think highly of you?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Would you like to know what other people think about you?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Were your parents ever mean to you?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. Do you have any bad memories?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. Have you ever thought that your parents hated you?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. Do you have sexual fantasies?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. Have you ever been uncertain as to whether or not you are homosexual?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. Have you ever doubted your sexual adequacy?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. Have you ever enjoyed your bowel movements?

Not							Very
At							Much
<u>All</u>		<u>Somewhat</u>					<u>So</u>

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

19. Have you ever wanted to rape or be raped by someone?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

20. Have you ever thought of committing suicide in order to get back at somebody?

ODQ spurningalistinn

Hér fyrir neðan eru nokkrar almennar spurningar varðandi þig sjálfan. Lestu hverja spurningu vandlega og settu hring utan um þá tölu sem á best við þig hverju sinni.

	Aldrei	Stundum	Alltaf
1. Biðurðu aðra afsökunar á misgjörðum þínum?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
2. Hefurðu þekkingu á því sem þú ert að tala um hverju sinni?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
3. Reynirðu að hlusta ekki þegar þú heyrir annað fólk slúðra?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
4. Notarðu alltaf ruslafötur þegar þú þarft að henda einhverju úti við?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
5. Eru heiðarleg(ur)?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
6. Efnirðu loforð, hversu óþægilegt sem það kann að vera fyrir þig?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
7. Þegar þú ert frá vinnu vegna veikinda, ertu þá raunverulega eins veik(ur) og þú segist vera?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
8. Virðir þú eldra fólk?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
9. Hefurðu stjórn á skapi þínu?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
10. Ertu trúr vinum þínum?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
11. Líkar þér við alla sem þú þekkir?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
12. Myndirðu sýna allan tollskyldan farangur í tollinum, jafnvel þó þú vissir að ekki kæmist upp um þig?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
13. Hafa allar venjur þínar verið góðar og æskilegar?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
14. Segir þú sannleikann?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
15. Kemur þú tímanlega í vinnu og annað?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
16. Hlýðir þú umferðarreglum (þ.m.t. að fara yfir á gangbrautum)?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
17. Sýndirðu foreldrum þínum hlýðni sem barn?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
18. Sýnirðu sanngirni í dómum þínum á öðrum?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
19. Sýnirðu öðrum kurteisi og tillitssemi?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7
20. Ertu reiðubúin(n) til að deila hugsunum þínum og hugmyndum með öðrum?	1	2	3 4 5 6 7

Number _____

ODQ

Never Sometimes Always

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1. Do you apologize to others for your mistakes?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Are you knowledgeable about the things you talk about?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. When you hear people gossiping do you try not to listen?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Do you always throw your litter into waste baskets on the street?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. Are you honest?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. If you say you will do something, do you keep your promises, no matter how inconvenient it might be to do so?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. When you take a sick-leave from work or school, are you as sick as you say you are?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Do you show respect for older people?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. Are you in control of your temper?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Are you loyal to your friends?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Do you like all the people you know?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Would you declare everything at customs, even if you knew that you could never be found out?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. Have all your habits been good and desirable ones?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

14. Do you tell the truth?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

15. Are you on time for appointments or work?

ODQ

Never Sometimes Always

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

16. Do you obey traffic regulations
(including jay-walking)?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

17. When you were a child did you obey
your parents?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

18. Are you fair in your judgments of
others?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

19. Are you polite and understanding
toward other people?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20. Are you willing to let people know
about all of your thoughts and ideas?

SPURNINGALISTI UM ÁFENGIS- OG FÍKNIEFNANEYSLU

Aldur: _____

Kyn: Karl () Kona ()

Hversu oft neytirðu áfengis?

- Daglega? ()
- Nokkrum sinnum í viku? ()
- Vikulega? ()
- Nokkrum sinnum í mánuði? ()
- Mánaðarlega? ()
- Sjaldnar? ()
- Ekki síðustu sex mánuði? ()
- Ekki síðustu tólf mánuði? ()
- Aldrei? ()

Er áfengisneysla þér vandamál? Já () Nei ()

Ef þú hefur einhvern tímann neytt eftirtalinna fíkniefna viltu þá svara eftirfarandi:

Hversu oft neyturðu kannabis?

- Daglega? ()
- Nokkrum sinnum í viku? ()
- Vikulega? ()
- Nokkrum sinnum í mánuði? ()
- Mánaðarlega? ()
- Sjaldnar? ()
- Ekki síðustu sex mánuði? ()
- Ekki síðustu tólf mánuði? ()

Hversu oft neytirðu amfetamíns?

- Daglega? ()
- Nokkrum sinnum í viku? ()
- Vikulega? ()
- Nokkrum sinnum í mánuði? ()
- Mánaðarlega? ()
- Sjaldnar? ()
- Ekki síðustu sex mánuði? ()
- Ekki síðustu tólf mánuði? ()

Hversu oft neytirðu kokaíns?

- Daglega? ()
- Nokkrum sinnum í viku? ()
- Vikulega? ()
- Nokkrum sinnum í mánuði? ()
- Mánaðarlega? ()
- Sjaldnar? ()
- Ekki síðustu sex mánuði? ()
- Ekki síðustu tólf mánuði? ()

Hversu oft neytirðu _____?

- Daglega? ()
- Nokkrum sinnum í viku? ()
- Vikulega? ()
- Nokkrum sinnum í mánuði? ()
- Mánaðarlega? ()
- Sjaldnar? ()
- Ekki síðustu sex mánuði? ()
- Ekki síðustu tólf mánuði? ()

Er fíkniefnaneysla þér vandamál? Já () Nei ()

Hefur þú sprautað þig með fíkniefni? Já () Nei ()

Hefurðu farið í áfengis- og fíkniefnameðferð? Já () Nei ()

Hversu oft hefurðu lokið fullri sex vikna áfengis- og fíkniefnameðferð? _____

SUBSTANCE ABUSE QUESTIONNAIRE (SAQ)

Age: _____

Sex: Male () Female ()

How often do you drink alcohol?

- Daily? ()
- A few times a week? ()
- Weekly? ()
- A few times a month? ()
- Monthly? ()
- Less frequently than monthly? ()
- Not the last six months? ()
- Not the last twelve months? ()
- Never? ()

Do you have problems with alcohol? Yes () No ()

If you have ever consumed any of the following illicit drugs then please indicate:

How often do you consume cannabis?

- Daily? ()
- A few times a week? ()
- Weekly? ()
- A few times a month? ()
- Monthly? ()
- Less frequently than monthly? ()
- Not the last six months? ()
- Not the last twelve months? ()

How often do you consume amphetamine?

- Daily? ()
- A few times a week? ()
- Weekly? ()
- A few times a month? ()
- Monthly? ()
- Less frequently than monthly? ()
- Not the last six months? ()
- Not the last twelve months? ()

How often do you consume cocaine?

- Daily? ()
- A few times a week? ()
- Weekly? ()
- A few times a month? ()
- Monthly? ()
- Less frequently than monthly? ()
- Not the last six months? ()
- Not the last twelve months? ()

How often do you consume _____?

- Daily? ()
- A few times a week? ()
- Weekly? ()
- A few times a month? ()
- Monthly? ()
- Less frequently than monthly? ()
- Not the last six months? ()
- Not the last twelve months? ()

Do you have drug abuse problems? Yes () No ()

Have you ever injected drugs into yourself? Yes () No ()

Have you ever started an in-patient substance abuse treatment? Yes () No ()

How often have you finished a full six week in-patient treatment program? _____

GÁTLISTI FYRIR FALSKAR JÁTNINGAR

	JÁ	NEI
1. Átti þátttakandi frumkvæði að játningunni (Fór hann sjálfur til lögreglunnar?)		
2. Gerði þátttakandi fölsku játninguna við yfirheyrslur þar sem hann var yfirheyrður fyrir fleiri afbrot?		
3. Beitti lögreglan þátttakanda þrýstingi við yfirheyrslurnar?		
4. Var þátttakandi að forðast gæsluvarðhald?		
5. Veit þátttakandi hver framdi afbrotið?		
• Vinur/félagi?		
• Ættingi (t.d. bróðir)?		
• Unnusti/unnusta?		
• Einhver annar?		
6. Var þátttakandi þvingaður af einhverjum öðrum? (Var honum hótad af þeim er framdi afbrotið eða var hann hræddur við hann?)		
7. Var þátttakandi að hilma yfir með einhverjum?		
8. Hver voru tengsl þátttakanda við þann er framdi afbrotið?		
• Vinur?		
• Ættingi (t.d. bróðir)?		
• Unnusti/unnusta?		
9. Trúði þátttakandi því við yfirheyrslurnar að hann hefði framið afbrotið?		
10. Er þátttakandinn nú viss um að hann framdi afbrotið ekki?		
11. Dró þátttakandi játninguna til baka?		
• Strax/fljótlega eftir að hann gerði hana?		
• Við síðari yfirheyrslur?		
• Fyrir dómi?		
12. Var þátttakandi sakfelldur fyrir afbrotið (fölsku játninguna)?		
13. Hvenær átti falska játningin sér stað? (Hversu gamall var þátttakandi þegar hann gerði fölsku játninguna?)		
14. Hvaða dóm fékk hann?		
15. Hvenær var hann sakfelldur? (Hvaða ár?)		
16. Hversu oft hefur þátttakandi gert falska játningu hjá lögreglu?		
17. Yfir hvaða tímabil (í árum)?		
18. If þátttakandi dró játninguna ekki til baka, hver var ástæðan fyrir því að hann gerði það ekki?		

ATHUGASEMDIR:

THE FALSE CONFESSION CHECKLIST (FCC)

	YES	NO
1. Did the participant volunteer to make the false confession? (Did he go to the police station?)		
2. Did the participant make the false confession during an interrogation for other offences?		
3. Was the participant pressured by the police?		
4. Was the participant avoiding being detained in custody?		
5. Does the participant know who committed the offence?		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friend/peer? • Relative (e.g. brother)? • Fiancee? • Someone else? 		
6. Was the participant pressured to make a false confession by someone else? (Was he threatened by the real culprit or was he afraid of him?)		
7. Was the participant covering up for someone?		
8. What was the relationship between the participant and the real offender?		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friend? • Relative (e.g. brother)? • Fiancee? 		
9. Did the participant believe at the time that he had committed the offence?		
10. Is the participant certain that he did not commit the offence?		
11. Did the participant retract the false confession?		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immediately/soon after making it? • During subsequent interrogations? • In Court? 		
12. Was the participant convicted of the offence (false confession)?		
13. When was the false confession made? (How old was the participant when he made the false confession?)		
14. What sentence was he given?		
15. When was he sentenced? (Which year?)		
16. How often has the participant made a false confession to the police?		
17. During what period (in years)?		
18. If the participant did not retract the false confession, what was the reason he did not do so?		

NOTES:

Játaðirðu við yfirheyrslur afbrotið sem þú afplánar nú refsingu fyrir?

Já () Nei ()

Ef svar þitt er *já* viltu þá gjöra svo vel að byrja á spurningalistanum á næstu blaðsíðu.

Ef svar þitt er *nei* viltu þá svara eftirfarandi spurningum:

Hvers vegna játaðirðu ekki? _____

Hefurðu áður verið yfirheyrð(ur) af lögreglu fyrir afbrot? Já () Nei ()

Ef svar þitt er *nei* viltu þá gjöra svo vel að byrja á spurningalistanum á næstu blaðsíðu.

Ef svar þitt er *já* viltu þá svara eftirfarandi spurningum:

Játaðirðu að hafa framið það/þau afbrot? Já () Nei ()

Ef *já*:

Hvenær var það (hvaða ár)? _____

Hvers konar afbrot var það? _____

Gjörðu svo vel og flettu á næstu blaðsíðu.

Did you confess during interrogation to having committed the offence for which you are currently serving a prison sentence?

Yes () No ()

If your answer is *yes* then please start filling in the questionnaires on the following pages.

If your answer is *no* then please answer the following questions:

Why didn't you confess? _____

Have you been interrogated before this current offence? Yes () No ()

If your answer is *no* please start filling in the questionnaires on the following pages.

If your answer is *yes* will you please fill in the following:

Did you confess to that offence? Yes () No ()

If *yes*:

When was it (which year)? _____

What type of offence was it? _____

Please go on to the next page.

Var lögmaður viðstaddur yfirheyrslurnar vegna afbrotsins sem þú ert nú að afplána refsingu fyrir?

Já () Nei ()

Hversu oft hefurðu áður verið yfirheyrð(ur) af lögreglu ? _____

Hefurðu nokkurn tímann við yfirheyrslur hjá lögreglu játað afbrot sem þú hefur ekki framið?

Já () Nei ()

Hvers konar afbrot var það? _____

Hverjar voru ástæðurnar? _____

Varstu sakfelld(ur) fyrir það?

Já () Nei ()

Dróstu játninguna til baka?

Já () Nei ()

Ef já, hvers vegna? _____

.

Was a solicitor present when you were interrogated about the current offence?

Yes () No ()

How often have you been interrogated before the current offence? _____

Have you ever during police interrogation confessed to an offence which you did not commit?

Yes () No ()

What type of offence was it? _____

What were the reasons? _____

Were you sentenced for that offence?

Yes () No ()

Did you retract the confession?

Yes () No ()

If you did, why? _____

APPENDIX III

THE VIGNETTES OF THE FALSE CONFESSIONS

CASE: 1.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 33 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 20 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Physical Assault.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of a serious assault, which comprised of his having asked the two men who were with him at the time to hold the victim, a 30 year old man, while he kicked him between the legs. A part of the victim's right testicle was torn off and destroyed.

The participant confessed to the police during the interrogation and claims that the police had pressured him to do so by trying to persuade him that he had committed the offence, even though he had at the time no memory of having done it. The police told him that he would be kept in custody if he denied the offence, it would be best for him to confess because then he could go home. The participant claims that he had a traumatic experience of being held in custody for 150 days when he was only 16 years old for offences he had committed. This caused him to fear that he would be remanded in custody for a long time for the current offence unless he confessed to it.

When the participant was interviewed in court as a part of the inquisitorial procedure he retracted the confession. He had been interrogated nearly one month after the incident and said that the police had presented to him their own scenario of what had happened, which they wanted him to agree with. He had no memory of having committed the offence while confessing to it, but he believed temporarily the scenario presented to him by the police. He was at the time under the influence of both alcohol and illicit drugs and had no memory of what he was doing at the time of the offence. He claims that he was also under the influence of alcohol and drugs at the time of the police interrogation, which impaired his ability to cope with the police pressure and made him accept the scenario presented to him by the police. He claimed that he had asked the police to withdraw the confession shortly after making it, but was told that it was not possible to withdraw the confession. The reason for wanting the confession statement to be withdrawn was that after signing the confession he soon came to believe that he had nothing to do with the offence.

The participant's above account was identical to that reported in the court papers, which the author had access to and studied after interviewing the participant.

The participant formally retracted his confession in court. In a letter to the High Court, after the participant had been convicted in the District Court, the victim wanted to withdraw his accusation against the accused. He said that during the trial he had realised that the participant was probably not the person who had attacked him.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant gave three reasons for having made the false confession to the police. First, because of police pressure, secondly to escape custody, and thirdly because during the interrogation he believed that he had committed the offence.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted for grievous bodily harm and sentenced to six months imprisonment. He was 23 years of age at the time. The case went to appeal in the High Court and the conviction was upheld in spite of the victim's letter to the High Court about his reservation of the participant's guilt.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	6
Extraversion	18
Neuroticism	12
Lie	7
Addiction	14
Gough Socialisation Scale	15
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	10
Other-Deception Questionnaire	6
Self-Deception Questionnaire	4
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	25.5
Yield 1	0
Shift	-
Total	-
Yield 2	-
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	28

Note - The participant refused to continue with the GSS 1, after the negative feedback had been given.

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:**Criminal variable:**

Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	25
Age when first served a prison sentence	18 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	12
Number of days previously served in prison	2850 days

CASE:2.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 24 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: Not known.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Driving while intoxicated.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of driving while intoxicated. He alleges that it was his friend who drove the car, but he was a passenger. No more information is available about the background to the confession.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to the police because he believed during the interrogation that he was guilty. He also claims that he retracted his confession at a later stage.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant stated that he thought he was sentenced and fined despite having retracted the confession.

Note - This participant was interviewed about the false confession during a pilot study, which limited the amount of detailed information obtained and the psychological tests administered (Step 1, see Procedure in Chapter three).

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	-
Extraversion	-
Neuroticism	-
Lie	-
Addiction	-
Gough Socialisation Scale	28
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	12
Other-Deception Questionnaire	10
Self-Deception Questionnaire	10
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	-
Yield 1	-
Shift	-
Total	-
Yield 2	-
Confabulation	-
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	-

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:

Education	Not known.
Employment	Not known.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record	15 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	2
Age when first served a prison sentence	23 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	1
Number of days previously served in prison	90 days

CASE:3.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 27 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 16 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO:
Driving without a licence and while intoxicated.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of driving while intoxicated in order to protect his older brother who had been driving the car at the material time. He had met his brother outside a discotheque in Reykjavik. Both of them were intoxicated. The brother explained that he had been followed by the police who recognised the car and probably also him as being the driver. He asked the participant to tell the police, if they asked, that he (the participant) had been driving the car. The reason was that the brother had a driving licence, whereas the participant did not, and the brother knew that if he was caught by the police he would lose his driving licence. The participant was the owner of the car, even though he was at the time too young to obtain a licence and he had lent it to his brother. The participant was arrested, intoxicated at the time, outside the discotheque while his brother was inside.

The participant told the author that the police had suspected his brother of having been the driver of the car. During the interrogation they urged him to tell the truth (i.e. tell on his brother). The police said that they had a witness who saw his brother driving the car. The participant did not comply to the police although he feels that they pressured him considerably to implicate his brother.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to "do his brother a favour". He seemed to feel sorry for his older brother, because he would have got into trouble and lost his driving licence, "He had a driving licence, not me; he was in school, but not me". The participant thought at the time that it would be better if his brother kept his driving licence, because he was not old enough himself to obtain a driving licence and the brother often acted as a driver for him.

CONSEQUENCES:

Lost the right to obtain driving licence for six months.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	4
Extraversion	17
Neuroticism	11
Lie	10
Addiction	10
Gough Socialisation Scale	20.5
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	14
Other-Deception Questionnaire	10
Self-Deception Questionnaire	4
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	20
Yield 1	3
Shift	3
Total	6
Yield 2	2
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	42

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	4
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	10
Age when first served a prison sentence	19 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	4
Number of days previously served in prison	833 days

CASE: 4.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 40 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

The participant claims to have made a number of false confessions to the police during his criminal career. He gave detailed descriptions of two recent false confessions. The first one happened when he was 36 years old and the other one when he was 41 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO:

The first one was to an offence of theft and forgery, and the other one was to an offence of driving without a licence.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made a false confession to offences of theft and forgery which his girlfriend had committed. One evening he met her when she was accompanied by another person (male), who took an obvious sexual interest in her. The participant and his girlfriend went with the man to his home for late night drinking. Later that night the two men were arguing over who should sleep with the participant's girlfriend. The host stabbed the participant in the back with a knife, which fortunately gave him only a minor wound. The participant responded by punching the man in the face and gave him a black eye.

A few days later the man reported the theft of his chequebook to the police and told them that the participant had attacked him without any provocation and gave him a black eye. The couple was interrogated about the cheque book and the participant was charged of physically assaulting the man and having stolen his cheque book

The participant said that the whole case "fell on him". He had been interrogated about some other offences at the same time and admitted having stolen the cheque book and forged some of the cheques. During the interrogation his girlfriend admitted having forged the cheques, but in court she claimed total amnesia for the offence. The participant said, "I was very dissatisfied with this case, I asked the judge to call her as a witness, without incriminating her, but she said she did not remember anything". This part of the story was confirmed from the court papers.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant claims that he confessed falsely in order to protect his girlfriend and because of police pressure and fear of custody, "Interrogations are often very painful experiences". He said the police told him that if he did not confess they would keep him in custody for a long time. He claimed that the police convinced him that it would make no difference for him to admit the offences, "It does not make any difference for you if you confess, you will get the same sentence anyway, you will be free now and your 'old woman' will be free".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted for all three offences, i.e., theft, forgery and common assault. He was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment for this and various other property offences which he had truly committed. His girlfriend was not convicted.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

The second false confession was made a few years later. The participant was with his friend, who was intoxicated and driving his own car when he had an accident, by driving into another car in which there was a disabled man, who the participant happened to know from his home town. At this moment the friend changed seats with him and the participant drove the car from the accident and falsely admitted to the police that he had been driving the car all the time. The participant had previously lost his driving licence for driving while intoxicated, but he was sober at the material time. The friend told the police a different story, namely, that the participant had stolen his car. It was not until during the interrogation that the participant realised this, "I had willingly covered up for him if he had asked me". This was the only offence he was interrogated about at the time.

The court papers describe the case very similarly to that given by the participant. The victim in the case (the driver/owner of the other car) said that he did not know which one of them had been driving, but that he saw the participant drive the car away from the accident.

The friend told the police that he had been heavily intoxicated and asleep at the time, when the participant took the car, without permission, and drove it away with him in it. The participant on the other hand told the police that he had been obliged to drive, because of his friend's mental state and that he himself had been sober at the time.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant said that he confessed because of police pressure, "The police said that it would be best for me to take this offence on myself, then I would not have to think about it anymore. "You can trust me [the police said], this will be a criminal matter if you do not confess". He said that the police convinced him that this would only be an insurance matter if he confessed. The policeman was an old shipmate of the participant, who had allegedly previously threatened him and beaten him up at the police station.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and sentenced to 11 months imprisonment, 20 days for this offence and 310 days for breach of probation conditions concerning other offences.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	11
Neuroticism	16
Lie	5
Addiction	18
Gough Socialisation Scale	23
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	11
Other-Deception Questionnaire	7
Self-Deception Questionnaire	9
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	21
Yield 1	11
Shift	5
Total	16
Yield 2	8
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	46

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	21 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	18
Age when first served a prison sentence	29 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	8
Number of days previously served in prison	2880 days

CASE: 5.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 27 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 25 or 26 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglary.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of burglary. In 1991 when the participant was first interviewed by the author he reported a false confession, without giving a detailed description. When interviewed again four years later he did not recall the first interview with the author. He complained of having very poor memory, but remembered though that he had once made a false confession to the police and gave more details than during the first interview.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having made the false confession was that he was feeling bad because of serious withdrawal symptoms from alcohol and drugs and wanted to get out of the police station. He emphasised that police pressure had nothing to do with the false confession and although the case involved a friend whom he knew at the time had committed the offence he was not covering up for him.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was not certain whether or not he was convicted for the offence he admitted to falsely.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	3
Extraversion	2
Neuroticism	25
Lie	7
Addiction	23
Gough Socialisation Scale	15
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	13
Other-Deception Questionnaire	6
Self-Deception Questionnaire	8
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	6
Yield 1	10
Shift	6
Total	16
Yield 2	12
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	13

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:

Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record	18 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	5
Age when first served a prison sentence	18 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	2
Number of days previously served in prison	860 days

CASE:6.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 31 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

The participant claims to have made two false confessions to the police, both of them when he was 29 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Forgeries.

BACKGROUND TO BOTH OF THE FALSE CONFESSIONS:

The participant gave very similar descriptions of the two false confessions. He said they were made within short intervals and both concerned forgery. The participant had himself committed similar offences and went voluntarily to the police station in order to give himself up for similar offences he had committed himself. He claims he was using illicit drugs at the material time and was feeling withdrawal symptoms when he gave himself up at the police station.

The first false confession was made in order to protect a drinking companion. This man had been stealing cheques from chequebooks and falsifying them. The participant was being interrogated about some other similar cases when questioned about this case. He knew that the drinking companion was responsible for the case and confessed in order to prevent his possible arrest.

The second false confession was made in order to protect a distant relative. They had been having a good time together, drinking. The relative had falsified some cheques and during interrogation, when the participant was being interrogated about other similar cases, "These cheques were put on the table (by the police) and I thought there was no need to implicate him".

REASON GIVEN:

The participant gave two reasons for having made both the false confessions. First, in order to protect a significant other, and secondly in order to prevent his being detained in custody. He went voluntarily to the police station to meet a particular police officer in order to confess to offences he had committed, because he knew that sooner or later he would be arrested for those offences. During his stay at the police station he also confessed to the offences he had not committed, because he thought denying them would delay his release from custody and in any case he was protecting the real offenders whom he knew.

The reason why he did not retract the confession was because he thought it would make no difference to him in terms of a likely sentence.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was convicted for both of the offences he had confessed to falsely. He was sentenced to five months imprisonment on each occasion for a large number of offences all of which he had committed with the exception of the two false confession offences. He did not know if the offences he had confessed to falsely had added to his ultimate prison sentence.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	7
Extraversion	6
Neuroticism	17
Lie	3
Addiction	23
Gough Socialisation Scale	14
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	13
Other-Deception Questionnaire	2
Self-Deception Questionnaire	2
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	10.5
Yield 1	5
Shift	8
Total	13
Yield 2	11
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	33

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	4
Age when first served a prison sentence	26 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	4
Number of days previously served in prison	600 days

CASE: 7.

SEX: Female.

AGE: 22 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: Not known.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Road traffic accident.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made a false confession to the police as being responsible for a road traffic accident. The participant did not give a detailed description of the false confession, only that it was a road traffic accident. Her boyfriend had accidentally driven into a car and the participant told the police that she had been the driver of the vehicle. When interviewed again four years later she was reluctant to talk about the false confession.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having made the false confession to the police was to help her boyfriend escape prison, "I did not want my friend to go to prison". The participant was reluctant to elaborate, but the author assumed that her boyfriend had either been driving the car while intoxicated or that he did not have a driving license. The participant appeared reluctant to get her boyfriend into trouble by her detailing the false confession to the author.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claimed that she retracted the confession when the case went to court.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	4
Extraversion	13
Neuroticism	10
Lie	12
Addiction	13
Gough Socialisation Scale	27
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	8
Other-Deception Questionnaire	14
Self-Deception Questionnaire	5
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	9
Yield 1	1
Shift	1
Total	2
Yield 2	2
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	34

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:**Education and employment:**

Education	Did finish compulsory education.
Employment	None.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:**Criminal variable:**

Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous prison sentences	2
Age when first served a prison sentence	20 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	1
Number of days previously served in prison	45 days

CASE: 8.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 26 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 20 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglary.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of burglary which his younger brother had committed. His brother had, during the night, broken into a small shop in their home town. According to the participant his brother was heavily intoxicated at the time and brought the stolen goods home, to his parents' house, in his car.

The next morning the participant was arrested in front of his parents' house and later charged with the burglary. He believes his brother was not even suspected of the crime and he was never formally interviewed by the police about the offence. The participant said that in order to make the police believe that he had committed the burglary, but not his younger brother, he tried to run away when the police arrived. The participant told the author that his father knew all the time who the real offender was, but "he kept his mouth shut".

According to the participant his brother has never been sentenced to prison. The participant, on the other hand, is a reoffender with a considerable criminal history.

REASON GIVEN:

The primary reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to protect his younger brother, although his brother never asked him to do so. The participant believed at the time that he was more experienced with the police, "I knew all the procedures" and "it was easier for me to take the case".

The participant also claims to have experienced pressure from the police to confess, "They [the police] always threaten you, if you do not confess they keep you in custody".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was sentenced to prison for the offence, but it was only one of many other offences which he was sentenced for at the same time.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	5
Extraversion	12
Neuroticism	13
Lie	0
Addiction	21
Gough Socialisation Scale	21
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	8
Other-Deception Questionnaire	7
Self-Deception Questionnaire	12
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	20.0
Yield 1	1
Shift	5
Total	6
Yield 2	4
Confabulation	0
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	36

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	3
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	10
Age when first served a prison sentence	18 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	5
Number of days previously served in prison	890 days

CASE: 9.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 19 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 14 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Theft and criminal damage.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of theft and criminal damage. He and his friend were accused of having stolen and damaged a small boat from the harbour of their home village. They were suspected of having sailed the boat and damaged it when they landed at the shore.

The participant told the author that the police in those days had always suspected him and his friend of every offence committed in the village. At this time "we were having fun near a garage in the village, pretending to be drunk, but had nothing to do with the boat". The participant said that he did not know at the time who stole the boat. Later the police discovered who the real offender was and told the participant so during the next interview. The offender was the boat owner's son, two years older than the participant, and now a friend of his.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant said that he confessed falsely because "it was no use in denying, they [the police] were so convinced we did it and I also wanted to get out of the police station".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was not prosecuted in the case.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

<u>Psychological test:</u>	<u>Scores:</u>
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	5
Extraversion	14
Neuroticism	10
Lie	3
Addiction	15
Gough Socialisation Scale	20
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	12
Other-Deception Questionnaire	4
Self-Deception Questionnaire	5
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	36.0
Yield 1	3
Shift	1
Total	4
Yield 2	2
Confabulation	0
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	47

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:

Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	19 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 10.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 25 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claims to have made a number of false confessions to the police in his criminal career, the first one allegedly when he was 18 years old and the last one when he was 27 years old, about two years after he was initially interviewed by the author. He reported the circumstances of two of the false confessions in detail, the first one which he claims to have made when he was 18 or 19 years old and the second one when he was 24 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglaries, thefts, forgery and smuggling.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of burglary and theft, by stealing a sword and some vodka. At the time he knew that one of his peers had committed the offences. The participant's brother was dating the peer's sister. He was a few years older than the participant and he looked up to him. The friend had told the participant about the burglary, but they had not discussed the participant confessing falsely to it.

When the false confession took place the participant had been arrested for a number of offences, including the one he confessed to falsely. The police had 'threatened' to extend the period of custody if he kept on denying this offence. The participant said that the police officers were certain that he was guilty, "They said that someone recognised me".

REASON GIVEN:

The main reason the participant gave for having made this false confession was to protect a peer. He denied the offence at first, but gave up and confessed because the police "threatened" to extend his period of custody and because his solicitor advised him to confess if he wanted to be released from custody quickly.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was convicted and sentenced to eight months in prison for this offence together with many other similar property offences. He said he did not retract the confession because it would only have complicated things, "There were so many cases in the package that I would only have received a heavier sentence if I denied one".

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

The second false confession was to offences of burglary and possession of illicit drugs, which were committed in the east part of the country. His friend committed the offences. They had been friends for four years and were arrested for falsifying cheques, which they truly did in order to finance a trip abroad to purchase illicit drugs.

The participant knew about the burglary and the drugs and wanted to do his friend a favour, "I did not want them to find out about him". He said that he had beforehand offered his friend this kind of favour.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant gave the same reasons for having made this false confession as the first one. He was protecting a friend and he did not want to be held in custody.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims to have been convicted for this offence and sentenced to four months in prison along with some other cases.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	5
Extraversion	15
Neuroticism	15
Lie	1
Addiction	22
Gough Socialisation Scale	20
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	13
Other-Deception Questionnaire	6
Self-Deception Questionnaire	6
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	19.0
Yield 1	4
Shift	6
Total	10
Yield 2	5
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	30

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	9
Age when first served a prison sentence	19 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	5
Number of days previously served in prison	705 days

CASE: 11.

SEX: Female.

AGE: 35 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 28 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Theft and forgery.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to offences of theft and forgery, which involved stealing two chequebooks and forging some of the cheques. Her boyfriend had committed the offences. She said she remembered the incident very clearly because at the time she was recently divorced and the offender was her new boyfriend.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to protect her new boyfriend. He had asked her to cover up for him. "He did not pressure me. I wanted to help him, because he was expecting a long prison sentence. At the time I did not realise the consequences".

The participant told the author that the boyfriend had prepared her for the police interrogation, which included his telling her exactly where she was meant to have taken the chequebooks.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims she was convicted for this case together with some other similar cases and sentenced to prison for six months. The case went to the High Court for appeal and the conviction was upheld.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	4
Extraversion	17
Neuroticism	15
Lie	15
Addiction	12
Gough Socialisation Scale	26
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	12
Other-Deception Questionnaire	12
Self-Deception Questionnaire	13
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	4.0
Yield 1	14
Shift	6
Total	20
Yield 2	10
Confabulation	0
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	32

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:**Education and employment:**

Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:**Criminal variable:**

Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	7
Age when first served a prison sentence	28 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	6
Number of days previously served in prison	1622 days

CASE: 12.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 27 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claimed to have made a few (3-5) false confessions from the age of 17. He reported two he recalled quite clearly, one allegedly made at the age of 18 or 19 and another when he was 24 or 25 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglary on both occasions.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of burglary which his friend had committed. The friend had broken into a shoe store in Reykjavik and stolen, among other things, some pairs of shoes. When they met shortly after the incident the friend gave the participant one of the pair of shoes. The next day the participant went to the police station to collect keys to his car, when one of the police officers noticed his wearing a new pair of shoes. The police soon found out that they originated from the shoe store his friend had broken into and the participant was consequently suspected of the burglary.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having admitted to this offence was to protect his friend. He was interrogated after the police discovered that his new shoes were stolen goods. He said he confessed immediately instead of telling on his friend and "I did not even think about retracting the confession".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims he was convicted for this offence including many other similar offences, but he could not remember precisely when he was convicted and the sentence given.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

In this case the participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of burglary, which was "a classic offence" for him, according to himself. He was being interrogated about some other offences when the police asked him about this particular case. He was suspected of having committed the offence, but was no where near the scene of the crime. At the time he knew that his friend had committed the offence. He refused to give the author more detailed information about the friend and the place.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant said that the reason he confessed to this offence was mainly to do his friend a favour, but partly because he feared his friend's revenge if he told on him. They had not discussed the case prior to the interrogation.

The participant gave two reasons for not having retracted the false confession. First, because of a principle, "One does not retract a confession", and secondly, because he feared his friend's revenge.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was convicted and sentenced to seven months imprisonment for this offence among other property offences he had truly committed.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	9
Neuroticism	12
Lie	6
Addiction	14
Gough Socialisation Scale	18
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	15
Other-Deception Questionnaire	8
Self-Deception Questionnaire	6
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	21.0
Yield 1	6
Shift	1
Total	7
Yield 2	7
Confabulation	0
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	48

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	3
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	14
Age when first served a prison sentence	18 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	7
Number of days previously served in prison	1585 days

CASE: 13.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 48 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: Not known.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Forgery.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of forgery because the police “insisted” that he was guilty of the offence.

The participant did not give more detailed information about the background to the false confession.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having made a false confession to the police was due to interrogative pressure. He did not retract his confession.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was convicted, but gave no more details.

Note - This participant was interviewed about the false confession during a pilot study (step 1 in Procedure, Chapter three), which limited the amount of detailed information obtained.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	-
Extraversion	-
Neuroticism	-
Lie	-
Addiction	-
Gough Socialisation Scale	28
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	9
Other-Deception Questionnaire	10
Self-Deception Questionnaire	11
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	-
Yield 1	-
Shift	-
Total	-
Yield 2	-
Confabulation	-
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	-

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:

Education	Not known.
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Employment	Not known.
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PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record	18 years
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Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
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Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	21
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Age when first served a prison sentence	20 years
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Number of times served a prison sentence	10
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Number of days previously served in prison	1030 days
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CASE: 14.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 25 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claims to have made two false confessions to the police. Both confessions were made in the same year, when the participant was 24 and 25 years old, respectively.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO:

The first offence was a burglary and theft of a car and the second offence was a burglary and a theft of a chequebook.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant was apprehended by the police in Akureyri while driving a stolen car. He was heavily intoxicated by alcohol at the time. When interrogated he claims to have confessed falsely to breaking into a publishing firm in Akureyri and then stealing a car which was parked outside. He was accused of having taken one cheque and the keys to the stolen car, which he was driving at the time he was apprehended.

During the interrogation he was shown a map of the house he was supposed to have broken into and the police 'threatened' to keep him in custody until he confessed. He claims that when at the police station he had no mattress to lie on in the cell and no blanket. He was allegedly cold and uncomfortable.

The participant denied the offence at the beginning of the interrogation, but eventually gave up and confessed. He told the author that he believed that some young men he met at the campsite in Akureyri framed him for the offence. They had all been drinking alcohol and he had been drinking heavily during the previous 24 hours. These men gave him the keys to the car and asked him to drive them around.

The participant was interrogated again later and agreed to pay for the damage to the car. He claims that he later retracted the confession by sending the police in Akureyri a letter stating his innocence.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to avoid being kept in custody due to the cold cell and uncomfortable bed.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was found guilty of the offence, but he was given absolute discharge due to some technical breach during the police investigation.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made another false confession to the police in the same year. This was also to an offence of burglary and this time by admitting that he had broken into a fishery in Reykjavik. He was charged with having stolen a chequebook and forged one of the cheques.

The participant discovered one day that officers from the State Criminal Investigation Police had been looking for him where he lived. He was not at home at the time and went voluntarily to the police to find out why they were looking for him.

The participant discovered that he was suspected of having endorsed a forged cheque at a bar in Reykjavik. He said he did not remember who gave him the cheque to endorse and cash it for them. He had been drunk at the time and was doing some one a favour.

He denied the offence at first, but confessed when the police showed him the cheque and said, "It is of no use for you to deny it". He claims to have falsely confessed to the offence in order to avoid being detained at the police station, which could result in his being sent straight to prison, because of a pending prison sentence. He retracted his confession when testifying in court.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having made this false confession is given above.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was acquitted of the offence.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	7
Extraversion	14
Neuroticism	18
Lie	13
Addiction	23
Gough Socialisation Scale	31
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	13
Other-Deception Questionnaire	11
Self-Deception Questionnaire	11
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	17.0
Yield 1	1
Shift	8
Total	9
Yield 2	9
Confabulation	0
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	38

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:**Criminal variable:**

Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	10
Age when first served a prison sentence	18 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	8
Number of days previously served in prison	2190 days

CASE: 15.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 23 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claims to have made five false confessions to the police. The first one was made when he was 15 years old, the second one when he was 16 or 17 years old, the third one when he was 18 years old, and the fourth and the fifth when he was 22 or 23 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO:

The first one was burglary, the second one was criminal damage, the third one was driving while intoxicated, causing a road traffic accident, and driving away from the scene of the accident, and the fourth and the fifth false confessions were to the offences of forgeries.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of burglary of a small shop in his home town in the south of Iceland. He was arrested and interrogated. After making the false confession the police searched his home for stolen property, but did not find any. The participant did not retract his confession.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was because he thought it was exciting to take part in a police investigation.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant believes that the case was dropped by the police because of no evidence against him beside his confession, which could not be corroborated.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of criminal damage to protect his friend. The offence happened when they were both heavily intoxicated. The friend was driving a tractor and the participant was a passenger. The friend drove the tractor through a small tool shed and destroyed it.

According to the participant the friend was never a suspect. During the interrogation the participant confessed immediately and the police did not even ask him whether or not he had acted alone.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to protect his "close" friend.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was fined 5.000.- kronur for this offence, but recalled that his friend, the guilty party, paid the fine for him.

BACKGROUND TO THE THIRD FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of driving while intoxicated, driving into another car and driving away from the scene without reporting the accident. This was done to protect his friend, who was ten years older than the participant and lived alone with his three children. The two men had been drinking at the friend's flat and according to the participant the friend was heavily intoxicated. The friend decided to take a drive to a small town about 40 kilometres south-west from Reykjavik in his car. The participant went with him. Visibility was poor due to a snow storm. On the way they accidentally hit another car and drove from the scene without stopping. The friend suggested that the participant should take over the driving due to the friend's intoxication and the risk of a further accident.

A few days later the police questioned the friend about the accident due to his being the owner of the car. The friend told the police that the participant had been driving the car at the time of the accident, but later when interviewed in court he told the truth and admitted that he had been driving the car.

When the participant was first interrogated he told the police the truth, that his friend had been driving the car when the accident happened, but three days later he went voluntarily to the police station and claimed that he had been the driver. This he did because the friend had asked him to confess to the offence so that he would not be prosecuted for it.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason for confessing to this offence was to "do his friend a favour". According to the court papers, when the participant was questioned in court he retracted the confession and claimed that it would have been better for him to lose his driving licence for a few months than for his friend, who would probably have lost his licence for at least five years due to his previous convictions for drunk driving offences.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted for having driven the car, while intoxicated, after the accident. He lost his driving licence for 20 months and was sentenced to six months in prison for this offence and some other related offences.

BACKGROUND TO THE FOURTH AND FIFTH FALSE CONFESSIONS:

The participant claims to have made the fourth false confession, concerning offences of forgery, in order to protect his wife. They were both actively using illicit drugs at the time and both were involved in various forgeries. His wife had forged some cheques. When the participant learned that his wife had been interrogated, suspected of the forgery and had confessed, he went voluntarily to the police and told them he had committed the forgery and that his wife was only trying to cover up for him by making a confession.

The participant claims to have voluntarily gone to the police station regarding the fifth false confession. The circumstances and the offence were very similar to that concerning the fourth false confession. On this occasion his wife had insisted that he implicated her and retracted his false confession, which he eventually did.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to protect his wife on two separate occasions with regard to similar offences.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and sentenced to three months imprisonment for the second offence concerning the forgery. He was interviewed by the author while serving that sentence and during the same imprisonment he was charged for the offence regarding the fifth false confession. After having retracted that confession he was acquitted and his wife was charged and later convicted.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	6
Extraversion	4
Neuroticism	22
Lie	7
Addiction	27
Gough Socialisation Scale	28
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	15
Other-Deception Questionnaire	12
Self-Deception Questionnaire	4
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	18.0
Yield 1	1
Shift	1
Total	2
Yield 2	2
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	44

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	15 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	3
Age when first served a prison sentence	20 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	2
Number of days previously served in prison	234 days

CASE: 16.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 44 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 34 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Theft.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant refused to give detailed information about his false confession. He said that the offence was committed when he was intoxicated and he did not remember the circumstances well.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to protect his younger brother from the police.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was convicted and sentenced to two or three months imprisonment for the offence.

Note - This participant was interviewed about the false confession during a pilot study (step 1 in Procedure, Chapter three), which limited the amount of detailed information obtained.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	-
Extraversion	-
Neuroticism	-
Lie	-
Addiction	-
Gough Socialisation Scale	23
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	10
Other-Deception Questionnaire	10
Self-Deception Questionnaire	7
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	11.0
Yield 1	7
Shift	1
Total	8
Yield 2	8
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	-

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:**Education and employment:**

Education	Not known.
Employment	Not known.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:**Criminal variable:**

Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	12
Age when first served a prison sentence	27 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	7
Number of days previously served in prison	690 days

CASE: 17.
SEX: Female.
AGE: 30 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claims to have made a number of false confessions since 1983 at the beginning of her criminal career. She gave descriptions of two false confessions, the first one was made when she was 22 or 23 years old and the other one when she was 26 or 27 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO:

The first false confession was to an offence of theft and forgery and the second one to forgery.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of theft of a chequebook (and some other things) and forgery (falsifying some cheques) to protect her child's father and a group of people who were with them at a party somewhere in Reykjavik. Some of the people at the party, including her boyfriend, were falsifying cheques in order to finance their drug use. The participant told the author that she had made it clear to the people at the party that if she was arrested by the police she would "take the case" (i.e. admit the offence in order to protect the others). They promised that she would be well provided for if she was sentenced to prison (i.e., provided with illicit drugs or money to buy them), a promise which they did not keep.

The participant was later arrested for a number of similar offences and when asked about the offence in question she made full admissions.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having made the false confession to the police was to keep the promise she had made to the people at the party.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that she was convicted and sentenced to six months in prison for a number of offences, including the false confession offence. This resulted in her first unconditional prison sentence.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of forgery, by falsifying cheques from a stolen chequebook, in order to protect a peer, "who was my deceased brother's best friend". The participant knew that the offender was on probation and told the author that she had not discussed with the offender that she would confess on his behalf.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant said she had confessed falsely to the police because she believed it was "unnecessary to implicate the offender". She claims to do this frequently when she is interrogated, "Once you are arrested you are going to be convicted anyway, it is not necessary to have others convicted too".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and sentenced to prison, but was not certain when exactly this was or for how long she served in prison.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	9
Extraversion	3
Neuroticism	16
Lie	6
Addiction	29
Gough Socialisation Scale	14
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	15
Other-Deception Questionnaire	6
Self-Deception Questionnaire	6
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	16.0
Yield 1	5
Shift	8
Total	13
Yield 2	9
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	36

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	10
Age when first served a prison sentence	24 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	4
Number of days previously served in prison	1110 days

CASE: 18.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 30 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 23 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglary.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of burglary. He was being interrogated because of another offence when the police asked if he knew anything about this burglary. At that the time he could not remember whether or not he had committed the offence. He was being interrogated by three or four police officers, who were sitting very close to him and refused to allow him to smoke.

The participant told the author that he was now certain that he did not commit this burglary and believes that his friend committed it.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was police pressure. During the interrogation he came to believe that he had committed the offence he was suspected of even though he had no memory of having committed it.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was convicted and sentenced to ten months imprisonment together with some other offences he had truly committed.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	5
Extraversion	14
Neuroticism	18
Lie	5
Addiction	21
Gough Socialisation Scale	26
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	11
Other-Deception Questionnaire	6
Self-Deception Questionnaire	4
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	15.0
Yield 1	7
Shift	4
Total	11
Yield 2	11
Confabulation	0
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	31

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:

Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record	18 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	3
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	5
Age when first served a prison sentence	25 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	4
Number of days previously served in prison	510 days

CASE: 19.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 17 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 15 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Take and drive away.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of take and drive away, by stealing a car and driving it without a driving licence. He claims that he confessed to this offence during one of his early police interrogations. He and his friends had been having fun by stealing cars and driving them around the neighbourhood and some of the cars were damaged. During the interrogation the police accused him of having stolen a number of cars (the participant was not certain of how many) and he had already admitted to having stolen some of them.

The participant claimed that he had been locked up at the police station for a day. At first he believed that this particular car was one of the cars he had stolen, but soon realised that it was not. He later learned that one of his friends [case 54] was responsible for this car theft.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant said he had confessed falsely to the police because he believed at first that he had committed the offence and he wanted to be released, "I suppose I did not mind" [confessing to an offence, which he had not committed].

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was not certain whether or not he was convicted for this offence. Since he was only 15 years old at the material time he believed that the case might have been dismissed.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	3
Extraversion	20
Neuroticism	15
Lie	12
Addiction	17
Gough Socialisation Scale	24
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	14
Other-Deception Questionnaire	11
Self-Deception Questionnaire	5
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	18.0
Yield 1	4
Shift	3
Total	7
Yield 2	1
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	30

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	15 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	4
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	17 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 20.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 32 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 17 or 18 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglary.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of breaking into a painter's shop in Reykjavik. The participant does not know who broke into the shop or what was stolen. He believes that the police were always trying to blame him for unsolved crimes. He claims he was interrogated at the same time about many other offences, which he had truly committed.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to escape custody, because he did not like the thought of being locked up in the remand prison in Reykjavik. He did not retract his confession because "it is of no use, it does not change anything".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims he was convicted and sentenced for this offence together with many other offences. He did not recall when this was or for how long he was sent to prison.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	8
Extraversion	9
Neuroticism	22
Lie	3
Addiction	26
Gough Socialisation Scale	18
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	7
Other-Deception Questionnaire	5
Self-Deception Questionnaire	5
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	12.5
Yield 1	6
Shift	3
Total	9
Yield 2	5
Confabulation	0
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	39

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:

Education	Some further education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record	• 17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	12
Age when first served a prison sentence	18 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	6
Number of days previously served in prison	990 days

CASE: 21.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 22 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 22 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Unlawful sexual intercourse.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of unlawful sexual intercourse with a 15 years old girl, who was so heavily drunk at the time that she did not know what was happening. He admitted to having had sexual intercourse with the girl, while she was dead drunk in a summer house at Thingvellir, about 50 kilometres north-west of Reykjavik.

The participant told the author that he had invited two 15 year old girls to a summer house one evening in February. He knew one of them slightly. They started drinking in the car on their way to Thingvellir and they all became heavily drunk during the night. He wanted to have sex and started by trying it on with the girl he knew, but she was not interested. He then turned to the other girl, who he claims was interested. When they began to undress the other girl became very annoyed and tried to convince the participant that it would be immoral to seduce her friend while she was so heavily intoxicated. In view of this objection he masturbated beside the drunk girl rather than having sexual intercourse and he ejaculated into her under pants.

The participant was arrested a few days later. During the interrogation the police seemed very certain about his guilt. One month earlier he had been convicted of rape and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment. He had had the serving of the sentence postponed on the grounds that the victim had written a letter to the High Court claiming that she had not been harmed physically or psychologically by the rape and did not want the participant to be punished. The participant claimed that he was convinced that his conviction would be quashed on appeal.

The participant denied at first having had sexual intercourse with the young girl, but finally confessed because he thought that he would then be allowed to go home and because he believed that he could retract the confession at a later stage. However the participant did not sign his statement to the police because he was illiterate and could not read the statement. The police did not insist that he signed the statement. He also felt embarrassed about having masturbated beside the girl and therefore he confessed to having had full sexual intercourse.

When he realised that he was being brought to the remand prison in Reykjavik and that he would not be allowed to go home he managed to escape from the police. After having consulted his sister and a solicitor he telephoned the police and agreed to turn up at the police station the following morning for another interrogation, which he did.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to avoid being imprisoned immediately for the rape sentence he had received previously.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted of unlawful sexual intercourse and sentenced to ten months imprisonment.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	3
Extraversion	7
Neuroticism	22
Lie	18
Addiction	19
Gough Socialisation Scale	18
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	14
Other-Deception Questionnaire	10
Self-Deception Questionnaire	8
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	22.5
Yield 1	3
Shift	6
Total	9
Yield 2	9
Confabulation	0
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	50

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	19 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	22 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 22.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 26 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claims to have made two false confessions to the police. The first confession happened when he was 14 or 15 years old and the other one when he was 28 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglaries.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of burglary. His brother had broken into the Co-op shop in their home town in the north part of Iceland and asked the participant "to take the case" for him. According to the participant the brother had already committed many offences, which he was waiting to be sentenced for. During the interrogation the police suspected the brother and wanted the participant to implicate him in the offence, which he did not want to do.

The participant told the author that both he, and another brother who was two years older than the participant [case 27], did frequently "take cases" for their oldest brother and many of the offences were burglaries into the local Co-op shop.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to the police in order to protect his older brother (one of his five brothers) because he was afraid of him, "He was threatening me and he was bigger and stronger". The participant did not retract the confession because he did not see any reason for doing so, "I thought it was all right to take one offence for him, then he [the brother] would be free".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant is not certain whether or not he was convicted of this offence.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

This time the participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of burglary in order to protect a man in exchange for the money the participant owed him. He had known this man, who was in his forties, for some years. The man is a known drug dealer in Reykjavik and has a reputation of being violent when he is collecting debts among his drug using clients. The participant owed him some money and was afraid of being beaten up if he did not pay his debts. One day the man came to a bar in Reykjavik where the participant had been drinking, offering to forego his debt and pay him some money as well, instead of a favour. They went together to the man's car outside the bar where the man told the participant his plan.

The man said he was on probation and that he had committed a burglary and stolen some computer equipment, in order to sell it to someone else. If something went wrong the participant was supposed to take the case for him. Therefore they changed their shoes in the car in case the police would search for footprints.

Later the same evening the police came to the bar looking for someone [not the participant] and asking if some stolen goods had been offered for sale that evening. At this moment the participant was beginning to have second thoughts about taking the case so he telephoned the man in order to tell him that he had changed his mind. The man came to the bar after while and they had another meeting in the car outside the bar, where the man offered the participant more money for the favour and "a lot of" drugs. The participant agreed.

The next day the police came searching for him. Everything went according to the man's plan and during the interrogation the participant falsely admitted to the burglary.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the burglary was the man's pressure or threats, "I did not want to be beaten up". The participant gave similar reasons for not having retracted the confession.

CONSEQUENCES:

According to the participant the man kept his promise, he paid him a considerable sum of money and gave him some drugs. The participant was convicted and sentenced to 10 months imprisonment for this offence along with two other similar offences he had truly committed.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	1
Extraversion	16
Neuroticism	21
Lie	7
Addiction	19
Gough Socialisation Scale	22
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	11
Other-Deception Questionnaire	4
Self-Deception Questionnaire	9
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	4.5
Yield 1	6
Shift	5
Total	11
Yield 2	4
Confabulation	0
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	32

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:**Criminal variable:**

Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	10
Age when first served a prison sentence	18 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	6
Number of days previously served in prison	795 days

CASE: 23.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 40 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claims to have made two false confessions to the police, the first one happened when he was 26 years old and the other when he was 39 or 40 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglary and theft.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made the first false confession to an offence of burglary and theft. He did not know who committed the offence or whereabouts it happened, but during the interrogation the police told him where the burglary had taken place and when. At the time he denied having committed the offence.

The participant was serving a prison sentence for an offence he had truly committed when the police visited him in prison and wanted to interrogate him again in connection with the offence he had previously denied. At the time his solicitor was on holiday and could not be reached. "They [the police] said that if I had an unsolved case I would not be released [from prison]. I was tricked to confess falsely". One of the police officers told the participant that it would be best for him to confess to clear the case then he would be released more quickly from prison.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having made the false confession to this offence was police pressure, because the police "forced" him to confess. During the first interrogation the police told him that if he did not confess he would be kept in custody for some time for 'persistent offending' and during the second interrogation, which took place in a prison, the police convinced him that it would be the best thing for him to do. He would not be released from prison until he had confessed and thus cleared the case, "The police needed a scapegoat, they needed to solve the case".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claimed that he was convicted of the offence and sentenced to eight months imprisonment together with some other offences he had truly committed.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims that he made the second false confession to an offence of theft by allegedly stealing a wallet. He was arrested and "strongly" suspected of having stolen the wallet from an apartment (flat) where he was staying as a guest.

He was being interrogated about other similar offences when the police officer said, "Here is another offence which is probably yours". He then admitted the offence believing that he had truly committed it, even though he had no memory of having stolen the wallet. Later, during an other interrogation, a different police officer said to him, "Why are you confessing to things you have not done?". The officer had discovered the real offender, a man the suspect knew slightly.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to the police because he was being pressured and thought that he might have committed the offence without any memory of having done so. He said, "During the interrogation I was beginning to believe that I had done it".

CONSEQUENCES:

The police dropped the case against him.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	1
Extraversion	12
Neuroticism	15
Lie	9
Addiction	13
Gough Socialisation Scale	22
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	12
Other-Deception Questionnaire	15
Self-Deception Questionnaire	12
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	8.5
Yield 1	6
Shift	9
Total	15
Yield 2	14
Confabulation	3
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	18

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	17
Age when first served a prison sentence	19 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	13
Number of days previously served in prison	2915 days

CASE:24.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 33 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 26 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Driving while intoxicated.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of driving while intoxicated. His friend who was driving the car at the time was also intoxicated when he had a road traffic accident and the person driving the other car got slightly hurt. The participant and his friend were arrested in the car, but they had changed seats when the police arrived.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to protect his friend. The friend was on probation and would for certain have been sentenced to prison for driving while intoxicated, "I was clean so I took the case for him and only lost my driving licence".

The reason the participant gave for not having subsequently retracted the false confession was that "It was no big deal, it would only have delayed the case".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant lost his driving licence "for life" (five years).

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	3
Extraversion	12
Neuroticism	14
Lie	3
Addiction	17
Gough Socialisation Scale	21
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	6
Other-Deception Questionnaire	6
Self-Deception Questionnaire	8
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	11.0
Yield 1	3
Shift	2
Total	5
Yield 2	5
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	18

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:

Education**Finished compulsory education.****Employment****Seaman.**

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record 17 years**Number of previous suspended prison sentences** 1**Number of previous unconditional prison sentences** 5**Age when first served a prison sentence** 27 years**Number of times served a prison sentence** 2**Number of days previously served in prison** 442 days

CASE:25.

SEX: Female.

AGE: 35 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 32 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Possession of illicit drugs.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of possessing illicit drugs, i.e. a few grams of hashish, which the police found when searching her flat. This happened in 1988 and at that time the participant was known by the police for her drug use. Shortly before the police arrived at her flat a known drug dealer came to visit her. The participant told the author that he was one of those who supplied her with drugs at the time, "He was snooping around and had recently started to keep an eye on me". When the police arrived unexpectedly the drug dealer hid a bag of hashish somewhere in her flat where the police later found it.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having made the false confession was police pressure. She claimed that she denied the offence at first but eventually confessed, because "They (the police) said I did not stand a chance because the stuff was found in my flat. They knew that the stuff belonged to him [the drug dealer]".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted for the possession of illicit drugs and sentenced to ten months imprisonment for that offence together with some other more serious drug offences.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	9
Neuroticism	5
Lie	10
Addiction	9
Gough Socialisation Scale	27
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	8
Other-Deception Questionnaire	9
Self-Deception Questionnaire	9
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	18.5
Yield 1	0
Shift	11
Total	11
Yield 2	10
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	44

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:

Education

Further education (University).

Employment

Student.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record 20 years

Number of previous suspended prison sentences 2

Number of previous unconditional prison sentences 1

Age when first served a prison sentence 34 years

Number of times served a prison sentence 1

Number of days previously served in prison 120 days

CASE:26.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 31 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 23 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglary.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of burglary, which his friend had committed. They had met when the friend was on his way to break into an office somewhere in Reykjavik, "He was going there to cause some damage". After the burglary they met again and the friend asked the participant to "take the case" for him, although he believed he might have unwittingly left some forensic evidence at the scene of the crime.

When the friend was arrested he told the police about the participant, who was subsequently arrested, but "The police knew that he (the friend) had done it". The friend had informed the participant about the burglary, but not in detail, and during the interrogation he learned that the friend had stolen some kind of computer equipment.

In court the judge asked the participant what he had done with the computer and the participant said that it had been too heavy and big to carry around that he had left it somewhere. "What big thing?" the judge asked and the participant answered "A big computer like that". Then the judge told the participant that the "computer" was only a small calculator and everyone in the court room laughed. There was a group of law students in the audience, who seemed to enjoy the hearing.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to this burglary was to protect his friend, "I thought it was no big deal to go to prison, just a bit tough". He did not retract the confession because "It was a question of a principle". He told the author that it was common practice among first offenders to cover up for those who were older and more experienced. He claimed that he had frequently and successfully pressured some younger boys to cover up for him during his criminal career.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was convicted for this offence and sentenced to two months imprisonment together with some other offences, which he had truly committed.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	6
Extraversion	7
Neuroticism	12
Lie	4
Addiction	20
Gough Socialisation Scale	22
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	13
Other-Deception Questionnaire	10
Self-Deception Questionnaire	6
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	18.5
Yield 1	1
Shift	7
Total	8
Yield 2	8
Confabulation	0
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	39

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Further education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	3
Age when first served a prison sentence	26 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	2
Number of days previously served in prison	819 days

CASE: 27.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 30 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE:

This participant claims to have made a number of false confessions to the police from the age of 15 years. He reported the details of one false confession which allegedly happened when he was 17 or 18 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglary.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of burglary because "I was well known to the police at the time". This was in 1980 or 1981 and he was suspected of having broken into the local Co-op shop one year earlier, before he went abroad, "I was arriving home from abroad and the police needed someone to blame for this". The participant believed that the police had been after him for this offence since he left the country in 1979 to go abroad.

When the incident took place the participant was on his way to Akureyri where he was going to be employed on a fishing boat. He never knew who the real offender was.

The participant told the author that when he was younger he frequently "took cases" for others, "We [he and his brothers] did this frequently, I suppose we thought we were tougher men for doing that". (The participant is the brother of the participant in case 22, who claimed to have confessed falsely to a burglary into the local Co-op shop in order to protect their oldest brother).

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was that they pressured him to confess. He said that he denied the offence at first.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant said that he was convicted for this burglary and that he received a conditional prison sentence.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	12
Neuroticism	20
Lie	7
Addiction	20
Gough Socialisation Scale	21
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	10
Other-Deception Questionnaire	9
Self-Deception Questionnaire	10
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	17.5
Yield 1	11
Shift	8
Total	19
Yield 2	9
Confabulation	3
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	25

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	4
Age when first served a prison sentence	21 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	2
Number of days previously served in prison	185 days

CASE:28.

SEX: Female.

AGE: 22 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claims to have made two false concessions to the police, the first one happened when she was 20 years old and the other one when she was 24 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO:

The first false confession was to an offence of forgery and the other one to an offence of burglary.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of forgery. Her female friend had written some cheques from her own chequebook, without having money in the account to cover it and having no intention of repaying it. The participant alleged that this was the friend's first offence. They were very good friends and had known each other for at least one decade.

The participant told the author that she had been constantly intoxicated at the time, consuming both alcohol and illicit drugs. She was hanging around, offending, with her friend and two male friends. She said she knew that her friend was writing cheques without having credit.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to this offence was to protect her female friend. "It made no difference for me, but a lot for her. I did not care about anything at the time". Despite this she believes that if she would have had a solicitor present she would not have made the false confession or been convicted for the offence.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that she, and not her friend, was convicted for this forgery and sentenced to three months imprisonment, together with some other offences which she had truly committed.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of burglary, which her husband and his friend had committed. According to the participant she was suspected and arrested when the police came to her home with a search warrant looking for stolen goods and found stolen jewellery.

The participant's husband and his friend had broken into a house and telephoned her from there, asking for some help, i.e. to carry two bags home, apparently with stolen goods. She claimed that she did not know what they were up to until they telephoned. She complied with her husband's request, took the two bags and left without entering the house.

During the interrogation the police told her that they had a witness, someone who had seen her walking from the house and could describe her clothes. She said that her

husband and his friend went another way home, so they were not seen. The police allegedly indicating that unless “I confessed they would keep me in custody for 90 days if I did not confess they threatened that I would not be allowed to see my kids”.

The participant was certain that the police knew that she had not been able to break into the house all by herself, but she did not implicate her husband or his friend. She was certain that she would have been convicted of the burglary because of the stolen goods that were found in her flat.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to protect her husband and his friend. She consulted with her solicitor, but claims that he told her not to tell on the husband and the friend.

The participant told the author that she now regrets having not retracted the confession.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and sentenced to six months imprisonment for this offence. Her husband and his friend both escaped conviction.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	6
Neuroticism	21
Lie	9
Addiction	19
Gough Socialisation Scale	23
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	10
Other-Deception Questionnaire	11
Self-Deception Questionnaire	9
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	23.5
Yield 1	4
Shift	1
Total	5
Yield 2	5
Confabulation	0
Raven’s Standard Progressive Matrices	46

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Service industry employee.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record	19 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	3
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	1
Age when first served a prison sentence	20 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	1
Number of days previously served in prison	60 days

CASE:29.
SEX: Female.
AGE: 34 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 20 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Theft and forgery.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of theft and forgery. Her boyfriend, who was ten years older than her, had committed the offence. He was on probation and the participant believed that he would go to prison if she would not confess falsely and "take the case". The offence came up during an interrogation about other offences they had committed together, "I confessed to the whole lot [stealing the chequebook and falsifying all the cheques]. There was a lot of fuss about this case. They [the police] were certain that he had done it".

The participant told the author that at the material time she did not consider it to be a big deal to make a false confession to the police, because she did not really care about the consequences.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant said she confessed falsely to the police in order to protect her boyfriend who had asked her to "take the case". She believes that she confessed because she was afraid of what would happen if she did not, i.e. what would happen to her relationship to the "man she loved", a relationship which had lasted for about a year.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that she received her first prison sentence for this offence. She was convicted and received a 45 days suspended prison sentence for the offence.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	18
Neuroticism	14
Lie	5
Addiction	17
Gough Socialisation Scale	26
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	12
Other-Deception Questionnaire	10
Self-Deception Questionnaire	8
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	9.5
Yield 1	4
Shift	1
Total	5
Yield 2	5
Confabulation	3
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	24

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Service industry employee.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	1
Age when first served a prison sentence	29 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	1
Number of days previously served in prison	30 days

CASE: 30.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 30 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claims to have made a number of false confessions to the police from the age of 17 years to the present day.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Drug offences.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSIONS:

The participant claims he has frequently confessed falsely to various drug related offences. He claims he always admits being the owner of illicit drugs, which the police find when they search his flat, even though it does not belong to him. He told the author that this was "a rule of life" for himself as well as all the others in the group, "Otherwise you are not allowed in the group".

The participant told the author that he had been "hounded" by the police for the last seven years and that he had been interrogated by the police at least twice a week over a seven years period.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having made false confessions to the police was a matter of principle or a rule, to protect his friends and drug using partners.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims to have been fined for all these false confessions.

Note - A friend of this participant told the author about a false confession the participant had made to the police in order to protect the friend. The friend had been driving his own car one night while intoxicated when the police started to follow him. He managed to escape from the police and left the car and walked home. In the morning when he woke up he telephoned the participant and asked him to 'take the case' for him, which he did. The friend and the participant went to the police station and told the police that the friend had been driving and caused the accident. The police accepted their story at first, but the participant and his friend were both convicted for false statements to the police and sentenced to five months imprisonment.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	7
Extraversion	18
Neuroticism	13
Lie	7
Addiction	16
Gough Socialisation Scale	29
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	12
Other-Deception Questionnaire	10
Self-Deception Questionnaire	11
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	23.5
Yield 1	5
Shift	2
Total	7
Yield 2	5
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	49

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Service industry employee.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	30 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 31.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 27 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant reported two false confessions. The first one happened when he was 19 years old and the other one when he was 21 or 22 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO:

The first false confession was to a road traffic accident and the other one was to an offence of burglary.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to the police for having caused a road traffic accident. His friend had been driving, his own car, while intoxicated and caused the accident. The participant claims that he was sober himself at the material time and after the accident he decided that he would "take the case" for the friend. He went voluntarily to the police station, at his friend's request and told the police that he was responsible for the accident, which they accepted.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to protect his friend from being prosecuted for having caused a road traffic accident when he was driving while intoxicated.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was not charged with any offence.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claimed to have confessed falsely to an offence of burglary. He believes that the real offenders were two of his friends, which he had been hanging around with, breaking into houses and stealing. He was apprehended, when he was riding a stolen bicycle while intoxicated. The police searched his flat and found a stolen hip flask, with the owner's name engraved in it.

The participant was interrogated and suspected of having stolen the hip flask, as well as a stamp collection, which had been stolen from the same house. He claims that he was not certain about who stole these things, but most likely his friends, and at the time he did not even know that the hip flask was in his flat. One of his friends must have left it there.

The participant asked the police to call his solicitor, who was present during the interrogation, but finally the participant confessed to everything he was accused of, "I did not want to make trouble for the others".

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to protect his friends, who he believed to be the real offenders. He claims he thought at the time that he would receive a heavier sentence if he told on his friends. He also claimed that the solicitor had supported him in making the false confession to the police.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was convicted and sentenced to ten months imprisonment for these thefts along with some other similar offences he had truly committed.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	3
Extraversion	11
Neuroticism	21
Lie	0
Addiction	22
Gough Socialisation Scale	27
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	10
Other-Deception Questionnaire	7
Self-Deception Questionnaire	9
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	13.5
Yield 1	1
Shift	5
Total	6
Yield 2	3
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	37

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Service industry employee.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	3
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	2
Age when first served a prison sentence	23 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	1
Number of days previously served in prison	150 days

CASE:32.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 20 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 20 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Robbery.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of robbery and gave the author the following story:

After having had some rows with his girlfriend the participant went down town drinking, where he met his younger sister and her boyfriend. The three of them decided to have a meal and drinks at a restaurant and the participant and the sister's boyfriend became intoxicated. After the meal they went to a bar where they continued drinking. The participant said that he had just started his first drink of whisky when he saw his sister's boyfriend, who had been talking to a man, rush out along with the third man, following this man. The participant decided to follow them. The participant followed the three men to the next street corner where he saw two of them attack the third one. Then one of the attackers ran away with the man's wallet, but the other one, the sister's boyfriend, kept beating him up, "Then when I tried to pull my sister's boyfriend off the man, the other one (the one who had run away with the wallet) started to yell "let him go K... [the participant's name]".

The participant and the sister's boyfriend went in the car with the sister to the third man's flat (the one who had run away with the wallet) where they were quarrelling about the robbery when the police arrived and arrested the two of them, the participant and his sister's boyfriend. On the way to the police car the sister's boyfriend threw the stolen wallet under the police car, but one of the police officers noticed it.

The participant claimed that he was heavily intoxicated when he was arrested early in the morning. The interrogations started at noon the same day and the participant claims that they lasted the whole day, but with intervals. He was feeling very bad, especially during the first interrogation, experiencing serious withdrawal symptoms from the alcohol. He had very little memory of what had happened during the night and at that time he even believed that he had participated in the robbery. Later during the day he claims that he recalled more of what had happened. He said that during the interrogations he had, at first, constantly denied having committed the offence, but finally gave in and confessed.

According to the participant the police were certain that he was the guilty one and they tried to force him to confess. He claimed that only he and his sister's boyfriend were arrested that night because of the robbery and his sister's boyfriend was soon set free. The third man was arrested later, after he and the sister's boyfriend had met. According to the participant the sister's boyfriend told the third man that the participant was going to "take the case" for them. When interviewed in court both of the real offenders testified against the participant, but the victim implicated the sister's boyfriend and later, after the participant had been convicted, the victim was interviewed on television where he said that the wrong man (i.e. the participant) had been convicted.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant said that during the interrogation he came to believe that he was guilty of the robbery, because the police confronted him with the accounts given by the sister's boyfriend and the 'third man' and he was very confused about what he was doing at the time. After the interrogations his memory gradually came back to him and he realised that he had had nothing to do with the robbery.

When interviewed in court the participant said that had not been protecting his sister's friend. He had confessed because he had read the witness statements of the other two, both of whom blamed him for the robbery. In the court papers, which the author has read, the participant stressed the fact that at the time of the interrogations he had been experiencing heavy alcohol withdrawal symptoms, the police pressured him to confess, and at the time he had come to believe that he had committed the robbery. He retracted the confession when the case went to court. He said in court that in such situations people were ready to confess to anything, only to be allowed to have some sleep.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and sentenced to three years imprisonment, but on appeal in the High Court his sentenced was reduced to two years. He was on probation when the incident happened and just before midnight that same day he started to serve a prison sentence again.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	6
Extraversion	14
Neuroticism	18
Lie	10
Addiction	18
Gough Socialisation Scale	24
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	13
Other-Deception Questionnaire	6
Self-Deception Questionnaire	9
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	23.5
Yield 1	8
Shift	3
Total	11
Yield 2	11
Confabulation	5
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	28

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	1
Age when first served a prison sentence	18 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	1
Number of days previously served in prison	214 days

CASE: 33.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 54 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE:

This participant claims to have made a number of false confessions to the police. He was only able to give a detailed description of one false confession which allegedly happened when he was 32 or 33 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Forgery.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of forgery, which his friend had committed. He was drinking with a friend, who had been forging some cheques. The friend was at the time the participant's ex-wife's husband.

The participant told the author that his self-esteem had been extremely low at the time. He was very depressed and believed that he could not do anything about this, "I did not care at all".

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was police pressure, "I was forced to confess". He asked for his solicitor during the interrogation, but he was not available.

The participant claimed that he had denied the offence during the first interrogation, but confessed later when the police threatened to take him into custody if he did not confess, "I knew that I would not be allowed to go home until I confessed".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was convicted and sentenced to eight months imprisonment for this offence and some other similar offences he was truly responsible for.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	7
Extraversion	14
Neuroticism	21
Lie	4
Addiction	28
Gough Socialisation Scale	25
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	16
Other-Deception Questionnaire	10
Self-Deception Questionnaire	6
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	16.5
Yield 1	1
Shift	4
Total	5
Yield 2	3
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	20

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Further education.
Employment	Craftsman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	18 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	18
Age when first served a prison sentence	30 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	9
Number of days previously served in prison	1693 days

CASE:34.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 27 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 18 or 19 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Take and drive away and driving while intoxicated.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of stealing and damaging a car and driving it while intoxicated. His friend had stolen the car, he had been drunk while driving it and hit a factory building. There was considerable damage both to the car and the building.

The participant and his friends lived in a small town north of Reykjavik. They spent a lot of time together and according to the participant the police suspected them of committing a number of offences together. The evening before the incident they went together to a discotheque in their home town. The friend left the discotheque early and stole the car, which belonged to the local Electricity Board.

Later that night the participant and his friend decided to go to a party in the car. Both of them were intoxicated and the friend who drove the car lost control of it and caused the accident. They left the car and went to the party. The participant was arrested at his home the next morning where he was asleep. His friend was also arrested and the two of them were taken to the local police station.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant claimed to have confessed falsely to the police for two reasons. First, in order to protect his friend because he knew that he was on probation and he knew that his friend had denied the offence when he was interviewed by the police. Secondly, because he wanted to be allowed to go home.

The participant told the author that he had at first denied the offence, but confessed after the police told him that they had found his shoe prints near the accident and his finger prints inside the car.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was convicted and sentenced to three months imprisonment for this offence, which was suspended. He had to pay compensation for the damage to the car and the building. He claimed that his friend did not take part in paying anything.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	5
Extraversion	14
Neuroticism	9
Lie	17
Addiction	7
Gough Socialisation Scale	33
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	16
Other-Deception Questionnaire	16
Self-Deception Questionnaire	18
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	23.0
Yield 1	5
Shift	4
Total	9
Yield 2	5
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	43

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	18 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	5
Age when first served a prison sentence	20 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	2
Number of days previously served in prison	140 days

CASE: 35.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 18 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 16 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Firesetting.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of firesetting by allegedly setting fire to a rubbish bin at a petrol station near Reykjavik on New Years eve. Many youngsters were hanging around the petrol station at the time and according to the police a number of them were interrogated (the author spoke to the police officer involved in the case whom he knew personally) .

The participant said that he was nowhere near the crime scene when the fire was set. He arrived there with a friend a few hours later, when the fire was out. He claims that he was intoxicated at the time. One week later a police officer, who knew him and had frequently interrogated him, telephoned him and asked him to come to the police station for an interview. At the police station he realised that he was suspected of having set the fire. The police officer told the participant that he had been seen near the petrol station at the material time, but "he never said seen by whom".

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was that he did not feel well being locked up at the police station, and that he wanted to be allowed to go home. He claimed that he had denied the offence at first, but after being locked up in a cell for about four hours he gave in and falsely admitted the offence.

CONSEQUENCES:

According to the police officer involved in the case it remains unsolved. The police were concerned about the validity of the participant's confession and never charged him with the offence.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	1
Extraversion	10
Neuroticism	11
Lie	8
Addiction	11
Gough Socialisation Scale	20
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	9
Other-Deception Questionnaire	3
Self-Deception Questionnaire	15
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	8.0
Yield 1	5
Shift	9
Total	14
Yield 2	7
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	29

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	18 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	18 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE:36.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 20 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claims to have made a number of false confessions to the police. He gave detailed descriptions of two false confessions. The first one happened when he was 15 or 16 years old and the other one when he was 20 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO:

The first false confession was to an offence of theft and the other one was to an offence of possessing illicit drugs.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of theft, i.e. stealing a traffic radar detector from a car. He said he does not know who committed the offence. During the interrogation the police told him that they had a witness, "Someone had seen a fat one and a short one so there would be no use in denying it".

The participant told the author that he had at the time been stealing from cars, but that he "came nowhere near this one".

REASON GIVEN:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely because of police pressure and in order to escape custody. He did not retract the confession because, "They do not listen to me, it does not change anything to deny or retract".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and sentenced for this offence along with other similar offences to 18 months imprisonment.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of possessing a small amount of hashish, which the police found in his car when he was arrested. During the interrogation he denied the offence at first and told the police that the hashish belonged to his friend, but he eventually confessed because one of the police officers 'threatened' to take away his dog (this was left outside in the participant's car during the interrogation) and lock the participant up in a police cell.

The participant had recently received a prison sentence and was waiting to go to prison. Being kept in custody at the police station would have expedited his imprisonment and made it difficult for him to find a new home for his dog.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to escape custody and to save his dog from being killed by the police. He was not covering up for his friend.

CONSEQUENCES:

When interviewed by the author the case had not been concluded, but the participant will most likely be fined for the possession of illicit drugs.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	7
Extraversion	16
Neuroticism	16
Lie	12
Addiction	17
Gough Socialisation Scale	24
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	10
Other-Deception Questionnaire	13
Self-Deception Questionnaire	9
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	11.0
Yield 1	2
Shift	2
Total	4
Yield 2	2
Confabulation	3
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	37

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	6
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	20 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE:37.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 16 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 16 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Take and drive away.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of taking and driving away, which is an offence that his friend had committed. The friend, who was on probation, stole a car and picked the participant up somewhere in the centre of Reykjavik. After having been driving around during the night, with two other friends, the participant and his friend left Reykjavik and drove to the north of Iceland. The friends were apprehended by the police on their way back to Reykjavik the following day. Both of them were sober and the friend was driving.

During the interrogations both of them told the truth, but a few days later the participant went voluntarily to the police and “corrected his statement”, i.e. he admitted having stolen the car and said that he had asked his friend to drive since the participant was only 16 years old and without a driving licence. The friend had a driving licence and risked losing his licence. The participant told the author that his friend thought he would go to prison for the offence and therefore he wanted to take the case for him. Before going to court the friends agreed their stories. When interviewed in court the friend corrected his confession statement and told the same story as the participant as agreed between them.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to do his friend a favour, “He has helped me on a number of occasions, it was time that I helped him”. The participant emphasised that the friend did not force him to take the case.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and sentenced to three months imprisonment for the offence. The friend was acquitted.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	8
Extraversion	18
Neuroticism	14
Lie	9
Addiction	17
Gough Socialisation Scale	19
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	5
Other-Deception Questionnaire	11
Self-Deception Questionnaire	6
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	21.0
Yield 1	8
Shift	2
Total	10
Yield 2	6
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	48

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	15 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	16 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE:38.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 20 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 18 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglary.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of burglary. He was interrogated by the police in Akureyri and held in custody for one and a half days. During the interrogation the participant had confessed to an offence he had truly committed. He was booked in for inpatient substance abuse treatment in Reykjavik the next day and hoped to be set free from custody, "I was tired of being in custody and I was experiencing heavy withdrawal symptoms. I wanted to get out and get therapy".

The participant was also suspected of a breaking into a shop in Akureyri and having stolen from there twenty thousand Icelandic kronur. He does not know who committed this offence. He denied the offence constantly at first, but confessed because "They [the police] said that they would keep me in custody until I had confessed to this burglary. They told me what I was supposed to have done, and how I was supposed to have got into the shop, by unscrewing the window". According the police report the participant was told during the interrogation that some "unnamed" informant had heard him boast about this burglary.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to escape custody in order to be able to go to an inpatient substance abuse treatment centre in Reykjavik. When released from custody the participant went to Reykjavik and attended the inpatient treatment.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and received a two months suspended prison sentence for this offence together with a number of other similar offences, which he had truly committed.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	11
Extraversion	12
Neuroticism	23
Lie	11
Addiction	24
Gough Socialisation Scale	19
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	9
Other-Deception Questionnaire	4
Self-Deception Questionnaire	6
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	11.0
Yield 1	1
Shift	2
Total	3
Yield 2	3
Confabulation	4
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	41

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Further education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	18 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	20 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE:39.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 23 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 22 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: The unlawful importing of young falcons to Denmark.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of falconry in Iceland and importing young falcons illegally to Denmark through Norway. He was arrested together with his friend shortly after they arrived in Denmark, carrying two young Icelandic falcons, which they had illegally caught in the north of Iceland. During the interrogation by the Danish police the participant was also accused of having previously the same year imported young falcons from Iceland through Norway. At that time he had come with the ferry from Iceland to Norway with his girlfriend. The police asked the participant the whereabouts of the falcons and to whom they had been sold, which he could not tell them since he did not know.

The participant told the author that he and his friend had been interrogated intermittently all day and the Danish police officers constantly went between them during the day, informing one of them about what the other one had 'confessed' to. The participant believed that the police intended to force them both to confess to this offence as well as the one they were apprehended for.

When the two of them returned back home the Icelandic police wanted to speak with them. They were interrogated about the falconry and during that interrogation the participant retracted his confession to the Danish police. He told the Icelandic police that he had given in to police pressure in Denmark. The Danish police had threatened him with imprisonment if he did not confess. He also said that during the interrogation he had not understood the Danish police officers well enough as they spoke in Danish and his Danish was very poor.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to the Danish police because he was afraid that he would otherwise be sent to prison. According to the participant the Danish police told him, "If you confess you will be free to go today".

The friend is also a participant in this study, but he did not report a false confession to any offence. According to the Icelandic police reports he claimed that he himself gave the Danish police the idea that he and the participant had imported young falcons from Iceland to Norway previously the same summer.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was not charged for this offence.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	1
Extraversion	7
Neuroticism	13
Lie	3
Addiction	15
Gough Socialisation Scale	29
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	8
Other-Deception Questionnaire	7
Self-Deception Questionnaire	7
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	25.5
Yield 1	4
Shift	2
Total	6
Yield 2	4
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	42

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Further education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	21 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	23 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE:40.
SEX: Female.
AGE: 39 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 32 or 33 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Smuggling illicit drugs into Iceland.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of smuggling illicit drugs into Iceland. The participant's father, a 65 years old seaman, was accused of having on at least five occasions over a period of two years smuggled hashish into Iceland. He was involved in drug smuggling with his son, the participant's brother.

The participant said that her brother had planned the offences and sent his father abroad to purchase the hashish. When the father and his son later had an argument over their "business" they involved the participant in distributing some of the drugs.

The participant claimed that during five hours of interrogation she confessed to everything suggested to her by the police. She had received a "message" from her father that he was feeling very bad, "nearly having a nervous breakdown" during the interrogation he was having. She became very angry and disappointed when she realised that her father had implicated her deceased sister, "The old man told the police that he had given the stuff to her". The participant told the police that she, and not her father and sister, had smuggled the drugs into Iceland and distributed them. She claimed that she was confused during the interrogation and became very tired towards the end and wanted to go home to have some sleep.

REASON GIVEN:

This participant gave two reasons for having confessed falsely to the police. First, in order to cover up for her old father and to protect the name (the honour) of her deceased sister. Secondly, because she was feeling confused and tired during the interrogation.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and sentenced to two months imprisonment for distributing drugs in Iceland. She was not convicted of smuggling the drugs into Iceland, but her father and brother were convicted for it and sentenced to prison.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	18
Neuroticism	12
Lie	7
Addiction	12
Gough Socialisation Scale	21
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	5
Other-Deception Questionnaire	5
Self-Deception Questionnaire	8
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	21.5
Yield 1	0
Shift	11
Total	11
Yield 2	11
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	26

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Service industry employee.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	21 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	39 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE:41.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 34 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 20 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Murder.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to murder. He was arrested late one night at a party in Reykjavik, suspected of minor forgery. He told the author that at the material time he was very angry with the police, because he was having great fun at the party. He decided to take revenge on the police by claiming he had information about two murder cases from 1975 and that he had more recently committed murder himself.

He was kept in custody the following day at a local police station due to the fact that he was too intoxicated to be interrogated about the forgery. During the evening he asked to see a police officer from the State Criminal Investigation Police. When the officer came to see him the participant told him that he had some information concerning a serious and well known murder case in Iceland from 1975, i.e. that he knew where the two missing bodies were hidden. (His account to the author is corroborated by a police report. The police did not believe him and took no action).

Later the same evening, when this officer had left, the participant asked to see another police officer from the State Criminal Investigation Police. According to police reports, when the officer visited the participant in the police cell he was crying and distressed. He told the officer that he could not stand the pain any more and needed to get something off his chest. He said he wanted to tell the police about an incident that had happened more than a year previously. He asked the police officer if he recalled the death of an elderly man, whose body was found on the west shore in Reykjavik and said: "It was me who killed him". After disclosing this information he seemed more relaxed.

The next day the participant was removed to the remand prison in Reykjavik and interrogated further about the murder. He then asked to see his solicitor and refused to sign a statement because what he had told the police the previous evening was not true.

The case was investigated in detail, but nothing could link the participant with the death of this old man.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant claims to have made the false confession in order to provoke and confuse the police and to take revenge, because he was arrested when he was having a good time at the party and then he was detained in custody over a long period of time without being interrogated about the forgery.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was not charged with the murder, but was convicted of wasting police time and was sentenced to 45 days imprisonment.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	1
Extraversion	12
Neuroticism	9
Lie	1
Addiction	11
Gough Socialisation Scale	28
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	7
Other-Deception Questionnaire	8
Self-Deception Questionnaire	6
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	12.0
Yield 1	7
Shift	9
Total	16
Yield 2	13
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	48

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Further education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	8
Age when first served a prison sentence	20 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	6
Number of days previously served in prison	635 days

CASE:42.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 27 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claims to have made two false confessions to the police. The first one happened when he was 18 years old and the other one when he was 21 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglaries.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of burglary. During an interrogation about a number of offences which he had truly committed he was accused of having broken into a firm in Reykjavik. He claims that he realised immediately that the guilty person was his girlfriend, "It was she who broke into the firm, I was not even there".

The participant told that author that the police had described the course of events so the only thing he had to do was to agree with them. He expected to be held in custody for a long time if he did not confess.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to the police for three reasons. First, in order to protect his girlfriend, secondly to escape custody, and thirdly because he did not care about the long term consequences, "I did not care, one more case made no difference".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was convicted for the offence and given either conditional discharge or a two months suspended prison sentence. He could not remember which it was.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made a similar false confession a few years later to several offences of burglary. He was interrogated while in custody and was suspected of burglaries and thefts, "I did not know what they were talking about, I just confessed to everything they wanted me to confess to, everything I was suspected of". During the interrogation he was experiencing withdrawal symptoms, "Which they [the police] took advantage of".

The participant told the author that when he was released from custody he was immediately sent to an institution situated in the south part of the country for alcoholics and drug addicts. His wife was also there at the time, receiving treatment

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was police pressure. He claimed that the police took advantage of his impaired mental state due to drug withdrawal symptoms.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims to have been convicted and sentenced to five months imprisonment for this offence together with some other offences that he had truly committed.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	3
Extraversion	8
Neuroticism	21
Lie	13
Addiction	21
Gough Socialisation Scale	21
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	16
Other-Deception Questionnaire	12
Self-Deception Questionnaire	9
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	14.5
Yield 1	0
Shift	2
Total	2
Yield 2	2
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	39

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	4
Age when first served a prison sentence	22 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	2
Number of days previously served in prison	180 days

CASE:43.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 20 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 15 or 16 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Criminal damage.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of criminal damage by spraying from a fire extinguisher inside the lodgings at the local secondary school in the west part of Iceland. The real offender was his friend and nephew, who was two years younger. They were not students at the school, only visitors at the lodgings. They had been at a discotheque in the town, both of them were intoxicated, when they went to the lodgings "looking for women".

The participant made a short visit to one of the rooms and when he returned his nephew had emptied one of the fire extinguishers, just for fun. No one witnessed the incident, but "It was obvious that either one of us, or both, had done it. We were the only ones who were there drunk at the time, drunk looking for women".

The nephew was never interrogated because of this offence and according to the participant his nephew has never been found guilty of any offence. The participant told the author that at this time he was suspected of every offence in the town.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to protect his friend and nephew. He said he confessed immediately because he thought it would not make much difference to him; he expected the case to be solved by his paying the compensation for the damage.

CONSEQUENCES:

The consequences were in accordance with the participant's expectations. He made a deal with the headmaster of the school and paid the compensation for the damage, which were eight thousand kronur. His nephew's name was never mentioned.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	3
Extraversion	16
Neuroticism	7
Lie	12
Addiction	12
Gough Socialisation Scale	27
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	12
Other-Deception Questionnaire	13
Self-Deception Questionnaire	10
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	16.5
Yield 1	2
Shift	7
Total	9
Yield 2	5
Confabulation	0
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	35

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	20 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 44.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 21 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: Between 16 and 17 years.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Burglaries.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have made a number of false confessions to offences of burglary. He believes that he was at the material time suspected of some thirty burglaries, but that he was only guilty of four of them.

The participant said that one of the firms he admitted to having broken into was a studio in Reykjavik, "I was a member of a band, and someone thought he recognised me". The three other members of the band were also suspected because this unnamed informant believed he had seen them together. A few days later the participant read in one of the local papers that the case had been solved, which involved somebody else being apprehended for the offence.

The author spoke to the police officer who was investigating the case, because he knew him personally. This officer told the author that a number of people were questioned "unofficially" about the case because very valuable tapes were stolen, but these interviews were conducted without written statements being taken. The real offender was apprehended and the tapes were recovered.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to escape from police custody.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was not charged with the offence.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	11
Neuroticism	16
Lie	9
Addiction	13
Gough Socialisation Scale	32
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	14
Other-Deception Questionnaire	17
Self-Deception Questionnaire	12
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	7.0
Yield 1	0
Shift	0
Total	0
Yield 2	0
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	35

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	3
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	21 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE:45.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 34 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 11 or 12 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Theft from a car.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to breaking into a car, which had been parked behind the local swimming pool, and stealing something which was in it. The police came for him, at his home, early in the morning the day after the burglary. He claims that he was being held at the police station all day where he constantly denied the accusation. He was suspected, along with at least five of his school mates, and eventually made a confession in order to be allowed to go home.

The participant told the author that he had a number of times, previous to this incident, been interrogated by the local police, "We [the participant and his friends] were always provoking them. We were supposed to be at home before ten in the evening and they were very strict about that". Sometimes when the participant and his friends were suspected of committing offences in the neighbourhood, "They [the police] used to take two or three of us, hold us for a couple of hours and interrogate us in turns and tell us what the others had confessed to. They did not do it this time though".

The participant does not know who committed the burglary.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant claims that he confessed falsely because the police had told him he could then go home if he confessed. He said that the police did not threaten him, but "They said that the only thing I had to do to be free was to confess".

CONSEQUENCES:

The case against the participant was dropped because the real culprit was found. The participant was not interviewed about the offence again, but he met one of the police officers, who lived nearby, and he told the participant about the outcome.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	3
Extraversion	9
Neuroticism	11
Lie	11
Addiction	11
Gough Socialisation Scale	31
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	7
Other-Deception Questionnaire	9
Self-Deception Questionnaire	10
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	11.0
Yield 1	1
Shift	5
Total	6
Yield 2	5
Confabulation	3
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	21

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	20 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	34 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 46.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 41 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 18 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Criminal damage.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of criminal damage. He was with two of his friends on board a ferry on their way to an island south of Iceland, where they were employed in a fishery.

They were drinking heavily on the way to the fishery. The two friends shared a cabin, but the participant shared a cabin with someone else whom he did not know. On the way his two friends vandalised their cabin. They told the participant afterwards that he was nowhere near their cabin when this happened and that he was asleep in his cabin. The participant believes that both of his friends told the police that he was sleeping at the material time, but the police seemed certain that he had taken part in the offence.

The local police waited for them when the ferry landed. They were all three interrogated and held at the police station until later that afternoon when they were put back on the ferry by the police and returned home.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant said he made the false confession to the police because he believed during the questioning that he had done what he was accused of. He told the police that he had no memory of what had happened during the night on board of the ferry because he was so intoxicated, "I did not recall a thing and confessed that I was involved in this".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was fined and had to pay the compensation for the damage in return for his baggage. He and his friends were ordered back from the island and lost the job.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	0
Extraversion	9
Neuroticism	7
Lie	8
Addiction	9
Gough Socialisation Scale	23
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	7
Other-Deception Questionnaire	6
Self-Deception Questionnaire	10
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	9.0
Yield 1	6
Shift	10
Total	16
Yield 2	11
Confabulation	3
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	41

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	20
Age when first served a prison sentence	19 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	12
Number of days previously served in prison	1560 days

CASE:47.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 38 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 37 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Fraud.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of fraud. He was suspected of being an accessory to fraud, i.e. buying electrical equipment with forged cheques.

His friend, who lived somewhere in the countryside, came to town to purchase a few television sets. The participant drove him around the town buying the TVs, but said he did not ask him how he paid for them, "He came out with a TV, it seemed to be honest business". One TV was delivered by someone else to the participant's home with a receipt, as if everything was fully paid for. The friend used the TV sets he bought to pay his creditors and before he left he stole the participant's chequebook.

The participant was arrested and held in custody for seven days because he was suspected of being involved in the offences, i.e. of having sold stolen goods along with his friend. During the interrogation he denied at first having known about his friend's thefts. The police seemed to believe that the friend had obtained the TVs for the participant to sell. The police were certain that the participant was an accessory to the thefts. He was therefore remanded in custody for a further seven days. At this point he confessed falsely to the offence in the belief that he would then be released from custody. The participant's wife, a respectable teacher, was expecting their second child in a few days time so he was getting extremely worried about being in custody when the child was born. He said that at the time he would have confessed to almost anything to be set free. The participant was held in custody for three additional days after having confessed and until the TV sets were found.

The child was born three days after the participant's release from custody.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant said he confessed falsely to the police in order to escape custody because he was afraid he would not be able to get home before his child was born. He emphasised that he was not covering up for his friend and that he was not afraid of the police. He had coped well with the interrogations, but not with the 'threat' of extended custody, "They [the police] knew very well about my family situation", i.e. that his wife was expecting their second child.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant retracted the false confession and was acquitted, but his friend was convicted and sentenced to eight months imprisonment for this offence together with other similar offences.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	5
Extraversion	18
Neuroticism	12
Lie	14
Addiction	10
Gough Socialisation Scale	27
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	9
Other-Deception Questionnaire	9
Self-Deception Questionnaire	4
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	15.0
Yield 1	7
Shift	3
Total	10
Yield 2	8
Confabulation	3
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	54

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Further education.
Employment	Service industry employee.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	25 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	38 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 48.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 28 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 24 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Possession of stolen goods.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of buying a stolen video recorder knowing that it was stolen. One day the participant's brother in law came to visit him with two of his friends. The two friends were involved in numerous burglaries and selling stolen goods. Later the participant acted as a intermediary between the two thieves, the real offenders, and his own friend, who wanted to buy a video recorder. He was never in possession of the stolen goods himself.

The participant was arrested by the drug squad and transferred to the State Criminal Investigation Police for questioning. His brother in law's friends, who had stolen the video recorder, implicated him. He said that the police only regarded him as a witness at first, because his friend was suspected of having purchased the video recorder. When the participant realised that his friend was a suspect he took the case himself and admitted falsely to having bought the stolen video recorder knowing that it was stolen and who stole it.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to the police in order to protect his friend. He felt guilty about having introduced his friend to the thieves. He did not retract the false confession because he felt that it was his duty to adhere to his statement, and in any case, "It was unnecessary to let my friend get into trouble".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and given four months suspended prison sentence. His friend was acquitted.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	5
Extraversion	9
Neuroticism	2
Lie	15
Addiction	11
Gough Socialisation Scale	19
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	4
Other-Deception Questionnaire	9
Self-Deception Questionnaire	12
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	20.0
Yield 1	2
Shift	7
Total	9
Yield 2	7
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	53

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	1
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	28 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 49.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 17 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE:

The participant reported two false confessions. The first one happened when he was 14 or 15 years old and the other one when he was 19 years old.

OFFENCES FALSELY CONFESSED TO:

The first false confession was to an offence of burglary and the other one was the possession of illicit drugs.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of burglary, which his friend had committed. The two of them were having fun with some other youngsters, walking around the village, both of them drunk. When walking alongside a small tobacco shop, discussing their lack of cigarettes, the friend broke a small window. He could not reach the cigarettes, but grabbed a portable radio instead, "I think he just stretched his arm through the small window and took the radio, he stole the radio, I stood beside him".

The participant was at home sleeping when the police arrested him. He was experiencing withdrawal symptoms from alcohol. He denied the offence at first, but confessed because the police officers bullied him, "I still believe they knew that I did not do it". The participant told the author that at the time he was well known by the police in the village for his delinquency since he was nine years old.

REASON GIVEN:

The participant said he confessed falsely to the police mainly in order to protect his friend, "I did not want to make trouble for my friend", but also because the police officers bullied him during the interrogation, "They held my arms behind my back, forced me down and banged my face against the table".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was uncertain about the consequences of making the false confession. He believes that he was either fined or given a conditional discharge for the offence.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of possessing illicit drugs, which belonged to one of his fellow inmates. One day the police were searching for illicit drugs in one small wing of the prison where he was serving a sentence and found a piece of hashish, concealed in a pipe tobacco wrapper, in one of the cells. The owner of the tobacco, the inmate who lived in the cell, denied being the owner of the hashish. He told the police that he did not even know to whom it belonged or why it happened to be in his pipe tobacco wrapper. The inmate was well known for drug abuse.

The other inmates on the wing knew about this and the participant, the youngest inmate on the wing, offered to take the case. He told the author that he did this to boost his reputation on the wing because he felt he was not fully accepted by the other inmates. One of the inmates tried to persuade him not to take the case, but he did not listen to him.

The next day the inmate was interviewed again, but this time by prison officers. He told them that he had discovered to whom the hashish belonged, one of his fellow wing mates (the participant) had admitted having placed the stuff in his pipe tobacco wrapper. When interviewed by the prison officers the participant said that he had placed the drug in the other inmates pipe tobacco wrapper because he thought that his cell would not be searched. He real offender paid him for the favour with a small amount of hashish.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the prison officers was to boost his reputation among the other inmates on the wing.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was punished for breach of the prison disciplinary rules and he said that his effort of boosting his reputation among his fellow inmates had failed. Allegedly, one of the inmates spread the rumour among the other inmates that the participant had been pressured by other inmates on the wing to take the blame for the offence.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	10
Extraversion	6
Neuroticism	21
Lie	3
Addiction	28
Gough Socialisation Scale	14
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	10
Other-Deception Questionnaire	4
Self-Deception Questionnaire	6
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	23.0
Yield 1	5
Shift	2
Total	7
Yield 2	7
Confabulation	4
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	41

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record	15 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	17 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 50.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 23 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE THE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claims to have made a number of false confessions to the police. He gave two examples, the first one which happened when he was 19 or 20 years old and the other when he was 23 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO:

The first false confession was to an offence of burglary and the other one was to an offence of theft.

BACKGROUND TO THE FIRST FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of burglary, which his friend (peer) had committed. The friend had broken into an industrial firm somewhere in Reykjavik. The participant considered it a routine burglary. His friend had broken a safe open and stolen all the money kept there.

The participant was arrested because of some other offences, but was asked whether he knew anything about this particular offence, "I said yes, I did it". His solicitor was present during the interrogation, but "I do not think he knew that this was a false confession". The participant said he knew all the time that his friend had committed the offence, "I was going to go with him to commit the burglary, but changed my mind". The friend was not interrogated about this offence.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having made a false confession to the police was to protect his friend. His friend was on probation, and would probably have gone to prison if he had been arrested for this offence, "I was myself on my way to prison and I didn't care". The participant did not retract the false confession because the friend paid him back by supplying him with drugs while the participant was in prison. "There was no reason to retract, it would only have made the case more complicated".

The participant said that since the age of 14 when he commenced his criminal career he had on a number of occasions covered up for others, "If you tell on your friends you only complicate things and you receive a heavier sentence".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims that he was convicted and that he was sentenced to three months imprisonment for the offence and other similar offences he had truly committed.

BACKGROUND TO THE SECOND FALSE CONFESSION:

The second false confession was to an offence of theft, which his nephew's girlfriend had committed. He admitted to the police having stolen a video recorder and three video tapes, i.e. that he rented the equipment and the tapes and had never any intention of returning them.

When the nephew's girlfriend was interrogated she told the police that she had asked the participant to return the recorder and the tapes, which she had rented, but he never did.

She came voluntarily to the police station to report this. When she and the participant met later she showed him a copy of her statement to the police, where she accused him of the theft.

The participant told the author that the nephew's girlfriend had sold the tape recorder and the tapes to finance her drug use. The reason she asked him to cover up for her was that she was afraid of being reported to the child welfare authorities which meant that her children might have been taken into care.

Later when the participant was interrogated about this offence he was serving a prison sentence for other offences he had committed. He confessed immediately and confirmed what the nephew's girlfriend had told the police. However, he retracted his false confession when he was interviewed in court because, "She betrayed my nephew and therefore she betrayed me" (i.e. broke the relationship with the nephew).

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to do his nephew's girlfriend a favour.

CONSEQUENCES:

The charge against the participant was dropped and the nephew's girlfriend was prosecuted.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	6
Extraversion	13
Neuroticism	14
Lie	1
Addiction	23
Gough Socialisation Scale	17
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	9
Other-Deception Questionnaire	5
Self-Deception Questionnaire	6
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	24.0
Yield 1	1
Shift	3
Total	4
Yield 2	2
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	43

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record	18 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	6
Age when first served a prison sentence	18 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	4
Number of days previously served in prison	613 days

CASE: 51.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 17 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 17 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Physical Assault.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of physical assault, which one of his friends committed. He was having fun one night with three friends in the centre of Reykjavik. They were causing a public disturbance in front of the post office, all of them drunk, when "the night-watchman came out and got hold of me, I kicked his hands, but one of my friends attacked him and knocked him out with an empty beer bottle".

They all ran away from the night-watchman lying on the street and kept on having a good time in another street. About two or three hours later they noticed the police approaching them and the three friends escaped into the nearest pub, "I was not quick enough, they [the police] arrested me in front of the pub". The night-watchman was with the police and recognised the participant as being one of the troublemakers.

The participant gave the police a lot of trouble when he was arrested. He claims he was "mad because of claustrophobia". The police held him until he had calmed down and he was locked up for the night and interrogated the next morning. He told the author that he did not know why he was arrested until the following morning when he confessed to the assault on the night-watchman and was set free. "They seemed certain that I was guilty, I confessed so that I would not be locked up any longer".

When the participant was home again he regretted having admitted to hitting the night-watchman with the bottle, "I realised that I was in trouble and decided to retract the confession". He said he discussed the retraction with the friend who had attacked the night-watchman. The friend said it was only "natural" for him to retract it and promised to give himself in, which he did not do.

The participant went to the police station and gave another statement where he implicated his friend. He was certain that the police officer believed him (an assumption which was unfounded according to the police report).

REASON GIVEN:

The participant claimed that he confessed falsely to the police because he was feeling claustrophobic at the police station and he did not think about the consequences at the time.

CONSEQUENCES:

The case against the participant was dropped, but according to the public prosecutor not because of his retraction. The prosecutor decided to drop the case because the participant was charged (and later convicted) for two other more serious assaults at the time. This offence was considered of too little importance.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	5
Extraversion	18
Neuroticism	15
Lie	5
Addiction	13
Gough Socialisation Scale	23
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	13
Other-Deception Questionnaire	7
Self-Deception Questionnaire	9
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	22.5
Yield 1	7
Shift	8
Total	15
Yield 2	13
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	38

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	15 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	17 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 52.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 22 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 22 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Driving while intoxicated.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of driving while intoxicated, which his friend had committed. The incident happened on the last day of the year. The participant and his friend were having a good time at a party somewhere in Reykjavik. The participant was drinking, but his friend was sober at the material time. They decided to go to a discotheque in the town centre and drove off around midnight. The friend was driving the car, still sober, but lost control of it because he drove too fast on an icy road. The car slid and landed in somebody's garden.

The house owners were having a New Years party and allowed the participant and his friend to leave the car in the garden until the following day. When making these arrangements they saw the police approaching and decided to run away because they believed that the police would interfere with their plans of having a good time in town.

The participant and his friend went on walking and found another party, and later that night they took a taxi down town. By this time they were both drunk. When they arrived to the discotheque the police were there looking for them and arrested the participant, "They had got a good description of me". The friend did not notice when the police arrested the participant and disappeared in the crowd outside the discotheque, "He thought that I had already gone inside". The friend did not know what had happened until the next morning when they met, therefore he did not give himself up to the police when the participant was arrested.

The participant was brought to the nearest police station and interrogated. He denied "everything" and spent the rest of the night in a cell. Early on New Years morning he was interrogated again, "The police indicated that if I did not confess I would go back to the cell so I confessed to having been the driver".

The participant told the author that he was not covering up for his friend. He telephoned his friend when he went home and told him what had happened. When they met later on New Years day, the friend told the participant that he would give himself up to the police.

The participant went to the police and retracted the confession and was told that his friend would be questioned. The participant believes that his friend would not be charged because he was sober when the accident happened.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to avoid being detained in custody. He was not feeling too good due to a hangover and he wanted to get out, to go on having fun on New Years day with his friends, "I was feeling terrible.

They [the police] had no reason to lock me up, my solicitor was not available and could not be reached”.

CONSEQUENCES:

When the participant was interviewed by the author the case was still pending.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	6
Extraversion	20
Neuroticism	8
Lie	8
Addiction	12
Gough Socialisation Scale	24
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	9
Other-Deception Questionnaire	7
Self-Deception Questionnaire	10
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	10.0
Yield 1	3
Shift	9
Total	12
Yield 2	11
Confabulation	5
Raven’s Standard Progressive Matrices	52

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Service industry employee.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	17 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	22 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 53.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 20 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 16 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Forgery.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of forgery. He was arrested, suspected of having forged a number of cheques, and kept in custody at the local police station for some hours. At the time he was recently 16 years old, but tried to convince the police that he was only 15 so that they would not be able to keep him in custody.

The police discovered that his identification card had been altered to show him being a year younger than he was. The participant was then moved to the remand prison in Reykjavik, where the police allegedly told him that they could keep him in custody for 90 days. He then confessed to the alleged offence. The participant said he was not certain who had committed the offence, but it might have been some of his younger friends.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was claustrophobia. He told the author that when the police said that they could hold him in custody for 90 days he "freaked out", "I could have confessed to everything they wanted me to in order to be free". He described his thoughts and feelings at the time. He said he was afraid of custody and feeling terrible. He was sweating and having 'butterflies' in his stomach, recalling old memories about being locked up in a small toilet by his father and thinking that he would not be allowed to get out again.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claims to have been convicted and sentenced conditionally to eight or nine months imprisonment for the offence .

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	4
Extraversion	19
Neuroticism	16
Lie	2
Addiction	19
Gough Socialisation Scale	21
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	11
Other-Deception Questionnaire	7
Self-Deception Questionnaire	3
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	14.0
Yield 1	6
Shift	6
Total	12
Yield 2	9
Confabulation	0
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	45

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	4
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	20 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 54.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 18 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 16 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Forgery.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

This participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of forgery, by forging cheques, which he knew his friend had forged. The participant was asked to attend the police station because of another matter, also a forgery. “The police then showed me some other cheques, which I knew that my friend had forged, I recognised his handwriting. I did not want to implicate him, just took the case on myself. He did not ask me. I was recently 16 years old, I was clean and he had previously covered up for me”.

The participant told the author that he did not know where his friend had obtained the cheques from. He said that he was using drugs heavily at the time and hanging around with delinquent friends.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to protect his friend because “he is a good friend and he was in trouble”.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant claimed that he was convicted for the offence and received a four or five months suspended prison sentence.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	19
Neuroticism	13
Lie	9
Addiction	14
Gough Socialisation Scale	20
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	7
Other-Deception Questionnaire	9
Self-Deception Questionnaire	6
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	18.0
Yield 1	6
Shift	7
Total	13
Yield 2	10
Confabulation	2
Raven’s Standard Progressive Matrices	42

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:

Education	Did not finish compulsory education.
Employment	Labourer.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	4
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	20 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 55.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 20 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 19 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Serious physical assault.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of physical assault because he did not remember in detail what had really happened. He had been drinking at the local hotel with his friends where they met the district's bailiff. The bailiff, who was also drunk, was very rude to the participant and his friends, making remarks about their offending behaviour, calling them reoffenders, drug users, and that he had "booked them in Litla-Hraun [which is Iceland's largest prison]".

Later that night the participant and two of his friends went to the bailiff's house for further discussions and to tell the bailiff that they were going to make an official complaint about his offending remarks earlier that night. When the bailiff told the participant "See you in Litla-Hraun" he lost his temper and punched the bailiff a few times so he fell. The bailiff tried to calm them down and offered them coca cola to drink. While they were having the drink one of the participant's friends cut the telephone wire to prevent the bailiff from calling the police when they were gone.

In the morning when the bailiff woke up he realised that he was badly injured and managed to call the police from another phone in his house. The injuries were so serious that he was flown to Reykjavik by an emergency plane and taken to hospital.

At noon the following day the participant and his two friends were arrested at his friend's house. They had been drinking until six o'clock in the morning, "I was feeling withdrawal symptoms or I was just still intoxicated". At the police station they were all locked up and only told that they were in serious trouble, arrested for physically attacking a man. It was not until five or six hours later that they were offered something to eat.

The participant was interrogated three times, still feeling withdrawal symptoms and having slept very little. He was offered a solicitor, but did not think that he needed one, since he did not realise how serious the situation was. During the interrogation the participant was accused of having kicked the bailiff when he was lying on the floor which resulted in the serious injuries. The participant told the police that he could not deny having kicked the bailiff because he did not remember everything that happened during the night, "I should have said I do not know". In the police report the officer wrote that the participant admitted to the assault and then signed a confession statement.

REASON GIVEN:

This participant gave a number of reasons for having confessed falsely to the police. First he was tired, sleepless and feeling withdrawal symptoms during the interrogations. Secondly, because of intoxication he was not certain about what had happened during the night. Third, he signed the police report without knowing that he could refuse to do

so. Fourth, he did not realise how serious the situation was and should have asked for a solicitor.

When interviewed in court he retracted his confession regarding the kicking.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted of physically assaulting the bailiff and sentenced to 18 months imprisonment, but he was acquitted of having kicked the victim because of his retraction and because his friends' testimony corroborated his own.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	6
Extraversion	15
Neuroticism	18
Lie	3
Addiction	19
Gough Socialisation Scale	21
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	16
Other-Deception Questionnaire	4
Self-Deception Questionnaire	5
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	24.0
Yield 1	6
Shift	3
Total	9
Yield 2	5
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	44

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Further education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	20 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 56.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 35 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:

This participant claims to have made a few false confessions in his life, mainly between 1980 and 1984. He gave the following description of one false confession he claimed to have made in 1986 when he was 28 years old. He was unable to give details of the other claimed false confessions.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Driving while intoxicated.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of driving while intoxicated in order to protect his older brother. His brother "was very much afraid to go to prison and I was on my way to prison for other offences in any case".

The incident happened during the first weekend in August, a popular holiday weekend in Iceland. The participant was on holiday in the north part of Iceland visiting a farmer with his brother and their girlfriends. The participant had two cars at the time and the brothers were driving one each. The participant and his girlfriend were visiting friends in a nearby village when the brother telephoned him and told the participant about his problems. He had been drunk and driving around the farm when he accidentally drove through a fence. The farmer was not at all pleased about this and telephoned the police and complained.

The police came the next day looking for the participant, "They asked me if this was my car and whether I had been driving it yesterday". The brother had previously been interrogated and denied the offence. The participant confessed to the police and described the damage his brother had done to the fence, "The police believed me".

The participant told the author that the last time his brother asked him to cover up for him was in 1993, also for an offence of driving while intoxicated and causing damage to property, but then the participant refused to do so.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police in 1986 was to protect his older brother, "I could never deny my brother a favour. He had convinced me that he could not stand the thought of going to prison".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and recalled that he was sentenced to three months imprisonment for the offence along with other similar offence which he was truly responsible for.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	15
Neuroticism	11
Lie	6
Addiction	14
Gough Socialisation Scale	13
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	10
Other-Deception Questionnaire	7
Self-Deception Questionnaire	9
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	13.5
Yield 1	12
Shift	6
Total	18
Yield 2	11
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	36

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	19 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	12
Age when first served a prison sentence	25 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	5
Number of days previously served in prison	1074 days

CASE: 57.
SEX: Female.
AGE: 32 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSIONS WERE MADE:
This participant claims to have made a number of false confessions to the police from the age of 14 years. She only gave description of one false confession which allegedly happened when she was 32 years old, in the same year as she was interviewed by the author.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Forgery.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:
The participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of forging one cheque. She and a friend were at a party somewhere in Reykjavik. Her friend had forged a cheque while they were at the party. She was later questioned by the police about the cheque and she confessed to having forged it. The police seemed sceptical about her confession, "They [the police] knew that he [her friend] had signed the cheque and asked me if it was not true. I always said no".

REASON GIVEN:
The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was that she felt sorry for the man she covered up for, "I wanted to help him.... I did not think I had anything to lose". The man she was covering up for had served many years in prison for murder and various other offences and she felt sorry for him.

CONSEQUENCES:
The participant was convicted and sentenced to 15 months imprisonment for this offence and many other similar offences she had truly committed.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:	
Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	14
Neuroticism	22
Lie	9
Addiction	19
Gough Socialisation Scale	19
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	5
Other-Deception Questionnaire	12
Self-Deception Questionnaire	11
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	19.0
Yield 1	5
Shift	4
Total	9
Yield 2	7
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	38

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:

Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Seaman.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:

Age when first on criminal record	30 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	32 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 58.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 18 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 18 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Driving while intoxicated.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of driving while intoxicated in order to protect his younger brother. The incident happened on a tour to Thingvellir the day after the spring exams. The participant was celebrating finishing school together with his seventeen year old brother and a few friends. He had intended to have some fun because the next Monday he was going to prison to serve a two and a half year sentence for stabbing a young man earlier that year.

The friends were driving two cars, all of them drunk. One of the cars belonged to the participant. The participant and his brother were in that car. His brother was expecting his driving licence the following week. When the police approached them and stopped the other car, the brother was driving the car. He stopped the car behind the police car and the participant told his brother to change seats with him quickly, while the police was interviewing his friends in the other car. When this was going on the participant's car slid into the police car because his brother had forgotten to put the handbrake on while they changed seats.

The group was taken to the nearest police station where they were interrogated and some of them were locked up for the night. The participant was interrogated immediately after the incident and again the next morning. He confessed to being intoxicated while driving the car.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to protect his brother. His brother was driving without a driving licence and while intoxicated and would not have received his driving licence until some months or even a year later if he had been apprehended. The participant knew that he would not need his driving licence for the next 15 months since he was going to prison the following day.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and lost his driving licence for 12 months.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	4
Extraversion	10
Neuroticism	15
Lie	4
Addiction	19
Gough Socialisation Scale	33
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	6
Other-Deception Questionnaire	5
Self-Deception Questionnaire	7
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	29.0
Yield 1	2
Shift	1
Total	3
Yield 2	1
Confabulation	3
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	56

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Further education.
Employment	Student.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	18 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	18 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 59.

SEX: Female.

AGE: 37 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 35 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Forgery and theft.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of forgery, i.e. forging debentures. She was a building society's employee in a small town in the east part of the country and among other things she took care of auction conveyances. During reviews of the society's accounts the accountant found major faults with the bookkeeping and the participant and her husband were suspected of forgery and theft.

During the first interrogation the participant confessed to what she was accused of. Her solicitor was not present. She admitted having embezzled money from the society by changing auction conveyances. The money had been deposited into joint account with her husband. She told the police that her husband had not known anything about it, he was a seaman and she used to take care of all their finances.

During the second interrogation her solicitor was present and he told the police that the participant had not told them everything and she (the participant) gave more details about the embezzlement.

The participant was interrogated once again, the third time, because of a letter she wrote to her solicitor saying that what she had done was what the society's manager had told her to do and that he was responsible for the forgery. He had allegedly told her that the money was a bonus for her work (i.e. for successfully collecting debts for the building society).

When interviewed in court the participant denied the charges brought against her and explained that the money she was accused of having stolen were her agreed fees for collecting debts for the society. Everything she had done was according to the managers instructions. When she was asked why she had not told this to the police in the beginning she said that she had considered the interrogations a 'show'. The manager denied these accusations when he was interviewed in court.

The participant told the author that the police officer who was investigating the case was a friend of the society's manager. She said that it was her fault to confess, "I trusted that they would realise that they were on the wrong track. They did not treat me unfairly though". She said that the police had implied that there were others behind her in this and wanted her to give them names, but I considered it a sign of weakness to implicate others".

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was that she was shocked that the police believed that she had forged these papers or was capable of doing so.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted and sentenced to nine months imprisonment. Her husband was acquitted.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	11
Neuroticism	13
Lie	13
Addiction	13
Gough Socialisation Scale	39
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	11
Other-Deception Questionnaire	13
Self-Deception Questionnaire	14
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	16.5
Yield 1	4
Shift	0
Total	4
Yield 2	4
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	40

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Further education.
Employment	Service industry employee.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	36 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	37 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 60.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 19 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 17 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Sexually assaulting two adolescent boys.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of sexually assaulting two 14 and 15 year old boys. He was on his way home from a party early in the morning on New Years Day when he met these two boys, whom he knew slightly. He was drunk at the time. He had some conversation with the boys and forced them, by threatening to punch them, to kiss each other and suck each others penises.

During the interrogation the participant was also accused of having forced one of the boys to suck his penis while he told the other boy to lay down on the ground and close his eyes. When interviewed by the author the participant claimed that he was only teasing the boys, "I do not know why it went like this. It is bullshit that I let them suck my penis, I was outside my own home". At the beginning of the interrogation the participant denied most of the accusations. He started by telling the police only a part of the story, but gradually admitted to having done what the boys had told the police, i.e. what one of the police officers read to him from their statements.

The participant told the author that his solicitor had advised him not to retract the confession until his being interviewed in court. When interviewed in court he retracted a part of his confession, i.e. having forced one of the boys to suck his penis. He also told the court that he was so heavily intoxicated at the time that he would have been unable to carry out what the boys claimed. He said that he believed that the boys were taking revenge on him by exaggerating what had happened.

REASON GIVEN:

In court and when interviewed by the author the participant gave a number of reasons for having confessed falsely to the police. First, he admitted having done more than he really did because he was suffering from withdrawal symptoms when interrogated. Secondly, because he was in the beginning not certain what had happened during the night. During the interrogation he denied everything at first. Thirdly, because the police told him that they would have to call his friends and school mates he was staying with that night as witnesses if he did not confess. Fourthly, because he wanted to get out of the police station and was afraid that he would be kept in custody if he kept on denying the offence. Fifthly, he said that the police officers who interrogated him had indicated that he would not be charged with the offence if he admitted it.

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was convicted in the district court and sentenced to imprisonment. The conviction was appealed to the High Court, which sent it back to the district court again for further investigation, where the participant was finally sentenced to twelve months imprisonment, three months unconditionally and nine months conditionally.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	20
Neuroticism	13
Lie	7
Addiction	11
Gough Socialisation Scale	26
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	6
Other-Deception Questionnaire	10
Self-Deception Questionnaire	11
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	20.5
Yield 1	6
Shift	6
Total	12
Yield 2	8
Confabulation	2
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	49

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:**Education and employment:**

Education	Further education.
Employment	Service industry employee.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:**Criminal variable:**

Age when first on criminal record	19 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	19 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 61.

SEX: Male.

AGE: 31 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 27 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO:

Possession and consumption of illicit drugs.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have confessed falsely to an offence of possessing and consuming illicit drugs at a party some three years earlier. He remembered clearly having been at the party with some friends.

The participant was interrogated about this case two or three years later. He was at work when the police came for him. They told his employer that he was being interrogated about "the great drug case in Akureyri". A friend of his, who was also interrogated about that case, had told the police that the participant had smoked hashish at the material time. When interrogated the participant believed at first that he might be guilty, but realised later that he was not. He said that he remembered being very drunk at the time, too drunk to be smoking hashish.

When the interrogation was over the participant was immediately brought to the judge, who was in the next room, "I did not know until after the interrogation that the judge was sitting in the room next to the one I was interrogated in and he sentenced me to pay a fine of 18,000 kronur".

The participant told the author that he was certain that the reason for his being a suspect in this case was one of the police officer's negative attitude toward him and added "They [the police] have never found hashish on me, but they were always searching".

REASON GIVEN:

The participant gave two reasons for having confessed falsely to the police. First, he was not certain during the interrogation whether or not he was guilty. Secondly, he was afraid of being locked up for the next 24 hours and wanted to go back to work. He knew that he would have to pay a fine, "It was better to pay 18,000 kronur than remain in custody for 24 hours".

CONSEQUENCES:

The participant was sentenced to pay a fine of 18,000 Icelandic kronur.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	2
Extraversion	18
Neuroticism	12
Lie	10
Addiction	10
Gough Socialisation Scale	34
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	14
Other-Deception Questionnaire	10
Self-Deception Questionnaire	11
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	19.0
Yield 1	10
Shift	6
Total	16
Yield 2	4
Confabulation	3
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	46

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Further education.
Employment	Service industry employee.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	22 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	0
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	0
Age when first served a prison sentence	31 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	0
Number of days previously served in prison	0 days

CASE: 62.
SEX: Male.
AGE: 40 years old.

AGE WHEN THE FALSE CONFESSION WAS MADE: 36 years old.

OFFENCE FALSELY CONFESSED TO: Theft.

BACKGROUND TO THE FALSE CONFESSION:

The participant claims to have made a false confession to an offence of theft of a soil compressor. At the material time the participant owned a gardening firm and had sold the compressor, which his nephew had some time previously bought for him. Unknown to the participant the soil compressor had been stolen by his nephew. The participant did not realise that the nephew had stolen the compressor until he was arrested for having stolen it himself.

During the interrogation the participant told the police that it was his nephew who had most likely stolen the compressor. Therefore the participant was kept in custody for 16 hours while the police searched for his nephew. When he realised that the nephew was somewhere in Norway and could not be reached in the near future he finally confessed.

When the nephew returned from abroad he promised the participant that he would take care of the case, which he did not. The participant was charged with having stolen the compressor. He was furious because "the boy [the nephew] had made a fool of me". He did not wish to serve a prison sentence for his nephew. His solicitor took the nephew to the police to make a statement, i.e. to confess to the theft, and subsequently the participant retracted his false confession.

REASON GIVEN:

The reason the participant gave for having confessed falsely to the police was to avoid further custody and to gain some time to find his nephew.

CONSEQUENCES:

The charges against the participant were dropped, and his nephew was convicted and sentenced conditionally to 45 days in prison.

RESULTS FROM PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS:

Psychological test:	Scores:
Eysenck Personality Questionnaire:	
Psychoticism	3
Extraversion	12
Neuroticism	14
Lie	9
Addiction	12
Gough Socialisation Scale	22
Gudjonsson Compliance Scale	11
Other-Deception Questionnaire	13
Self-Deception Questionnaire	8
Gudjonsson Suggestibility Scale:	
Recall	10.0
Yield 1	0
Shift	2
Total	2
Yield 2	2
Confabulation	1
Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices	35

EDUCATION AND MOST FREQUENT EMPLOYMENT:

Education and employment:	
Education	Finished compulsory education.
Employment	Gardener.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL HISTORY:

Criminal variable:	
Age when first on criminal record	16 years
Number of previous suspended prison sentences	2
Number of previous unconditional prison sentences	9
Age when first served a prison sentence	18 years
Number of times served a prison sentence	3
Number of days previously served in prison	1260 days